

ENGLAND

IN

1841

A SERIES OF LETTERS WRITTEN TO
FRIENDS IN GERMANY,

DURING A

RESIDENCE IN LONDON AND EXCURSIONS
INTO THE PROVINCES:

BY

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FROM THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,' OF 'ILLUS-
TRATIONS OF THE HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH AND
SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES,' OF 'ENGLAND IN 1835,'
ETC. ETC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

By H. EVANS LLOYD.

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ENGLAND IN 1841.

LETTER XXV.

The Church—The Roman Catholics—The voluntary System—The Dissenters—The Oxford Tracts.

London, August 25, 1841.

NOTWITHSTANDING any appearance to the contrary, the Christian view of the world is more cheerful, and affords a more comprehensive, and profound consolation against prevailing evils and weaknesses, than the heathen. But these evils and weaknesses naturally excite the regret of thinking men, so far as they assume that another and a better state of things might be produced by human will and human energy. In general, this opinion scarcely meets with contradiction ; but as soon as we enter into details, men's views and notions so greatly diverge, that the one approves what the other rejects, and one condemns as sinful, what to the other appears innocent and lawful. Inconsiderate praises and extravagant accusations, of certain periods and circumstances, are met with throughout the whole course of history ; and this

is now the case in England. In a book, entitled "The present State and Prospects of the World and the Church, 1837," we find, for instance, the following passage: "What do we see in our days?—Luke-warm Christians, false liberality, profanation of the Sabbath, clubs opened, steam-boats in motion, newspapers offered for sale, travellers on the public roads. We see unbelief, drunkenness, dissoluteness, prodigality, unfaithful conduct in public officers, a base and immoral press, children disobedient to their parents, mixed marriages, an erroneous spirit of equality, the spread of popery," &c. &c. Another writer says, "We now suffer the punishment of having transgressed the laws of civil order*. We have let loose, to a dangerous extent, ignorance, arbitrary caprices, and fanaticism. During a period of peace and prosperity, this great nation is given up to civil disputes and quarrels; hostile sects exceed one another in vehemence; the pleasures of social intercourse and the charities of religion disappear; common and vulgar wrangling is more suited to the nature of the disputants, and men seem to be agreed only on one point, that to be a good hater is the best proof of correct principles."

Each of the great Christian parties look upon too many things from different points of view, and each

* Quarterly Review, No. cxxvi, p. 370.

conceives its own the only correct one. Thus, the Presbyterians affirm that true Christianity is to be found solely within the sphere marked out by them, while the subdivisions of this narrow sphere accuse and persecute each other. Similar intolerance has been manifested but too often by the Romish Church, as soon as it was in a condition to command and enforce its principles in their full extent. Many writers belonging to the established Church express themselves with the same severity and precision. "The Church of England," says one*, "cannot recognize the Presbyterian Association as a Church, without sacrificing her principles and truth; otherwise, she must, in like manner, admit and accept the Mahometans in Turkey, and the Worshippers of the Dali Lama in Thibet." "We cannot," says another writer†, "give up a single point of our faith. It is the only ancient, true, and divine faith, which no Christian can, or dare to change. In fact, there are but two consistent characters in the world,—the bold-faced atheist and the enthusiastic Christian."

Notwithstanding this apparently, undoubted, and firmly-grounded security, we find in England great apprehensions of the increasing spread of Popery; sects of various kinds, advocates of the voluntary

* Irish Ecclesiastical Journal. Morning Chronicle, August 3, 1841.

† Macneile's Lectures on the Church of England.

system ; and, as in Scotland, violent dissension within the Church itself.

The admission of the Roman Catholics into Parliament*, says one party, is incompatible with the safety of the Church and of the State ; therefore, we must endeavour to put an end to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and even to the union of England and Ireland. The only security, and the first duty of the English Church, is the conversion of Ireland. No new edition of the Irish New Testament was printed between 1681 and 1811, or of the Bible between 1685* and 1817. The more closely we examine the history of the English Church, from the time of the Reformation, to the end of the eighteenth century, the more irresistibly are we impressed with the melancholy conviction that she has grievously neglected to do her duty. The eighteenth century, in particular, was a period of inactivity and absenteeism for the Protestant clergy in Ireland. However amiable and accomplished these Irish clergymen may have been, as gentlemen and men of learning, they were not men of God, in the true sense in which they ought to have devoted all their energies of mind and body to the service of religion. If the Roman Catholics are permitted to make any claim to the pro-

* Quarterly Review, No. lvii, p. 240, 256, April 1836 ; No. cxi, p. 259, 264, &c.

perty of the church, or the revenues of the state, for the education of their youth, and the maintenance of their clergy, there will be no end of agitation, as long as there is a shilling in the treasury, and an acre of land in possession of the church.

The danger to the church of England does not arise from the Dissenters, the sectarians, and the advocates of the voluntary system*; but from the Roman Catholics, who, by union, activity, perseverance, establishing of schools, disseminating their writings, sending out missionaries,—in a word, by all means of every kind, make the greatest progress. There were, in England and Wales, in 1824,

Roman Catholic chapels,	357
In 1839.....	453
Increase.....	96

In Scotland,

1829, Roman Catholic chapels,	51
1839, " " "	79°
Increase.....	28

In our opinion, no time is more favourable for the propagation of Popery than the present†—a loose, indifferent, unbelieving, dissenting, luxurious, self-willed age, which calls itself enlightened: many persons believe that popery is a common, coarse,

* Statistics of Popery.

† Quarterly Review, No. cxxxiii, p. 136, 140. No. cxxxiv, p. 542.

palpable heap of absurdities, which need only to be known in order to be despised. On the contrary, it is the most subtle, wonderful, profoundly contrived machine that was ever invented to bring men under the yoke, on the pretext of subjecting them to God.

These apprehensions and explanations do not fully agree with another passage * in which it is affirmed; though the whole edifice of papal superstition still stands in its full extent; yet, in consequence of mistrust and disunions within, and of repeated attacks from external enemies, it daily exhibits new traces of weakness and decay.

The fear and dislike of all ecclesiastical and spiritual dominion, has led to a defence of what is called the voluntary system; the weak and dangerous sides of which I have already endeavoured to explain. This has been most completely done, in a work called “The Voluntary System, by a Clergyman.”

All the evils and inconveniences which arise from the voluntary system, from dissent, from the election of ministers by the members of the congregation, and from their dependence upon them, are set forth and represented in a still more striking manner, in the autobiography of a dissenting minister. All sectarians, says the author, associate so much among

* Quarterly Review, No. exi.

themselves, and have such a petty and mean standard of perfection, that they do not think any thing of consequence, excepting themselves : while they make such an outcry about religious freedom, they allow their congregations to tyrannize over them and tread them under foot ; at the very first entrance of a minister among a dissenting congregation, he finds himself in a degraded position. As every individual may withhold his contribution, it is very easy, according to the usual expression, “ to starve out a minister” who is not agreeable to a majority. A dissenting minister must consider himself as a man whose business it is to afford his congregation, on a Sunday, an agreeable pastime, and to set forth the doctrines of the Gospel in so entertaining a manner, that the hearers may not fall asleep during the sermon. For this purpose, he must never contradict any of their opinions, or oppose their caprices and fancies ; for nobody likes contradictions and objections. He must employ all his ingenuity, in proving such points as nobody denies. If there is in the congregation only one drunkard or dissolute person, calumniator, &c. he dare not preach against any of these vices, without exposing himself to the heavy charge of being personal. If, on the other hand, there are several who indulge in such vices, he may attack them with safety ; for nobody takes the censure

to himself, but applies it to his neighbours, and all are satisfied. The minister must take particular care to leave a back door open for every body, through which he may escape. If he has sufficient dexterity to preach against sin without disturbing the sinner, so much the better; for he obtains thereby the reputation of a faithful, well-conducted orator. He is faithful and well-conducted who preaches for my opinions, and against all sinners, and all sins except mine. The situation of a dissenting minister, is that of positive and hopeless slavery. He may strive to cover it by many means and evasions, but he can never free himself from it. He must suffer himself to be led by his congregation, and endeavour to please, not only the men, but also the women and children; for all these criticize and blame him, if he does not do every thing precisely according to their humour and caprices. He must submit to them, and serve them in every thing, in politics, divinity, morals, dress, and amusements; for he depends upon them for his daily bread. In a word, the minister of an Independent Church, is the most dependent of all men.

The dark side of unendowed religious parties is certainly represented here in very forcible terms; but the dark side of rich established churches might, perhaps, be represented in a similar manner.

One party, for instance, blames the excess of sci-

entific divinity and learning, and connects with this censure, reproaches of the diffuseness of theological studies in Germany, and the results arising from it. Thus a writer*, referring to the list of theological lectures in the University of Halle, says, " All these things are taught scientifically and theologically ; and a student of divinity must work his weary way through this complex labyrinth of instruction, before he can be confirmed as a teacher of the Gospel. Thus are the apostles sent out by men, prepared to execute a sacred work ; thus, the servants of the Gospel are cut to pieces and thrown into Medea's cauldron, to come out as a new creature with magic power, to work miracles among men. We do not wonder that the flying fiery serpents of neology and rationalism, in countless numbers, are produced by the lectures in the German universities."

There may be an injurious sub-division and a censurable arrogance of learning and shallow unbelief, as well as thoughtless love of innovation, which may sometimes be connected with it. Those are certainly right, who endeavour to prove the necessary and salutary union of religion and science, of belief and knowledge. Scanty and incomplete theological studies have been more injurious to other countries than too abundant riches to Germany ; and even the author

* Beverly. The Heresy of a Human Priesthood.

in question must allow that the education of dissenting ministers, in England, is more superficial than that of the theologians of Halle.

By far the loudest and most serious dispute, within the English Church, has arisen respecting a series of Essays (Tracts for the Times)* which have been published by several members of the University of Oxford, particularly Messrs. Pusey and Newman. The system and the school have been called, after the former gentleman, Puseyism and Puseyites.

The authors justly refuse to be judged of by simple detached passages ; but as it is by no means my business to plunge into the depths of theological learning, and as this does not appear to be the proper place for lengthened extracts, I feel compelled to give some characteristic expressions, without partiality or aversion.

Our object, say the authors, is to contribute to the practical revisal of doctrines which have been neglected and withdrawn from the observation of most of the members of the church ; hence arose the increase of Sectarianism. Methodism and Popery are the refuge of those for whom the church limits the gifts of grace. They are the stepmothers of the abandoned children ; those neglected doctrines, when

* Since 1833.—5 vols.

faithfully preached, will prevent the spread of Popery, for which a way is opened by the increasing divisions in the religious world.

It is necessary to believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church, and boldly to defend its rights ; if the state or the people meddle in questions on the rights and possessions of the church, there is no reason to complain*, if the church meddles in the affairs of the state and the people. Much is said of our Established Church, and little of the Apostolical succession ; and yet it is necessary, and the safest, to hold fast by it. In this country, whoever separates from the Church of England, separates from the only church which is, with reason, perfectly certain that it can give the Lord's body to the people ; but we do not exclude Roman Catholics and Presbyterians from redemption and salvation. The Gospel is the law of liberty ; but the Athanasian Creed must be absolutely adopted and believed. The castigation of the flesh is a duty prescribed by the Bible.

The Church of England took a middle course, between reform and popery ; but it may be asked, whether we do not need a second reform. We act only on the defensive towards the Roman Church ; we acknowledge her merits, without sharing in her

* Tract, No. 2.

(too great) zeal. It is a merit to recognize, to commend what is common to all Christians, and to approximate the Creeds, without destroying their nature. This nature consists as well in what is common, as in what is peculiar to each. However, true ministers of the Established Church, or conscientious Dissenters, cannot frequent each other's churches. Rationalism is requiring argument in the wrong place, or system and knowledge, instead of confidence and faith. God punishes those with blindness, who approach sacred truths with speculative views. Rationalism, is forgetfulness of the divine power, disbelief of the existence of a first cause, which suffices for all events and facts ; it measures the credibility of all things only according to its own knowledge, denies the working of God, as soon as it passes the bounds of our conception. It is the duty of the church to maintain what has always been handed down (*traditum*) every where and by all.

The Oxford Tracts very naturally excited great opposition, which, however, has become much louder and more general, since the publication of No. 90, by Mr. Newman. It examines the contents, and attempts an explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles ; it treats, therefore, of the authority of the Church ; of justification by faith ; of general councils ; of purgatory ; of the worship of images, relics, the invoca-

cation of saints ; the sacraments ; transubstantiation ; masses ; the marriage of the clergy, popery, &c. It is universally acknowledged, says the author, that our prayer-book is of Catholic origin ; but our articles, the production of an uncatholic age. By the good providence of God, they are (to say the least) not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim or who endeavour to be in heart and doctrine Catholics. The church may for the present sit still ; she may be satisfied that she is in slavery ; she may submit to her imperfections as a punishment, and teach with stammering tongue~~s~~ on equivocal formularies *, unconnected precedents, and principles which are but partially developed.

No. 90 was published on the 27th February 1841 ; and, on the 8th of March, four tutors in Oxford declared against it ; and, on the 15th of March, the Vice-chancellor of the University, the heads of houses, and the proctors, passed a resolution of the following tenor† ; the mode of exposition which is adopted and recommended in the Tract No. 90, evades the meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles, rather than explains it ; combines or reconciles the subscription of them with errors, which

* Still stronger passages are to be met with in the Posthumous Papers of a young man named Froude, published by the Oxford Tractarians.

† Certain Documents connected with the Tracts for the Times.

they are intended to counteract, defeats their object, and is incompatible with the due observance of the laws.

Mr. Newman acknowledged himself to be the author of No. 90; and, on the injunction of the Bishop of Oxford, the authors resolved not to continue the publication of their Tracts. This resolution, however, could not at once allay the excitement; and a great number of writings appeared for and against the Tracts, as well as other essays; the object of which was rather to defend, in general, Protestantism or Popery. I will here only give the titles of those which have passed through my hands:—

I. Against the Tracts, &c. &c.

Beverley, the Heresy of a Human Priesthood.

Fausset, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Standard and Test of the Doctrines of the Church of England.

Jordan, the Crisis comes.

Jordan, an Appeal to the Bishop of Oxford.

Jordan, a Second Appeal to the Bishop of Oxford.

Lowe, Observations suggested by a Few Words of Mr. Ward.

Maitland, on the Tract No. 89.

Prettyman, a Review of No. 90.

Remarks on the Oxford Tracts.

Sewell, Letter to Pusey on the Publication of No. 90.

Letter to Hook, Strange and New Doctrines
extracted from the Writings of Mr. Newman.

Strictures on No. 90, of the Tracts for the
Times.

The Articles construed by themselves.

Thompson, a Triumph of Christianity.

Wilson, a Letter to the Rev. Ed. Churton.

Vindex, Strictures on Hook's Letter.

Edinburgh Review, No. 147.

. II. In Defence of the Tracts.

Few Words in Support of No. 90.

Letters on the Tracts for the Times.

Newman, Letter to the Bishop of Oxford.

Newman, Letter to Jelf.

Oakeley, the Subject of Tract 90.

Perceval, Vindication of the Principles of the
Authors of the Tracts for the Times.

Pusey, the Articles treated on in Tract 90.

Pusey, Letter to the Bishop of Oxford.

Quarterly Review, No. 126.

De Sancta Trinitate, the Oxford Tracts.

Ward, a Few Words in Support of No. 90
of the Tracts for the Times.

III. In Defence of Protestantism against Popery.

Palmer's Letters to Wiseman.

IV. In Defence of Popery.

Dublin Review, July 1837.

Philipp's Remarks on Newman's Letter to Jelf.

Rathborne, Are the Puseyites sincere?

Verax, a Letter to Palmer.

Wiseman, Letter to Newman.

Wiseman, Remarks on a Letter from Palmer.

That almost all these writings touch upon, or develop, theological subjects, may be here observed; but, for that very reason, no satisfactory extracts can be given. A few notices must suffice to explain, in some measure, the state of the case. Mr. Sewell, in a moderate tone, expresses a wish, in his letter to Dr. Pusey, that excitement and party spirit should be avoided; that the Thirty-nine Articles should not be spoken of in equivocal or contemptuous language, nor the feelings of men be blunted to the real defects of the Romish Church, nor the fathiers resorted to, and the basis of the present state of things be forgotten, &c.

Others speak more severely, and say the entire tendency of the Oxford Tracts is popish; like the Romanists, they affirm that priests are the only representatives of Christ. The whole dispute therefore turns upon the one point, whether these priests shall

receive their ordination at Rome or Lambeth. According to their doctrine, the church is above the king and the state; and the legislative power dare not interfere in any spiritual affairs. They give new importance to antiquated and external things, recommend fasting, extol tradition, as the safest and most infallible guide in matters of religion, and interpret the Bible in that sense. They prefer abolished Liturgies, to that approved of by the law; they read prayers, not in the desk, but kneeling before the communion table, with their backs turned to the congregation. They bring back the Christian religion to the external observance of commandments, and to castigations, totally at variance with its spirit. The views of the masters may be laudable; but the less acute and less learned scholars have strayed into bye-paths, which lead to popery. They do not seek to purify the Romish Church, but to draw our Church nearer to popery, by covering, and explaining away its errors, and placing our truths in the shade. The views and doctrines of this new school are most certainly not those of the Church of England. It affirms that the Church is a definite body, favoured with high gifts, and confined entirely to those clergy who, since the time of the Apostles, have been consecrated in uninterrupted succession; out of this Church there is no Christendom; it alone possesses

the gift of inspiration, and is authorized, together with the Bible, to declare the revealed will of God ; and this, not merely in the way of explanation and interpretation, but likewise by setting forth doctrines which are not to be found in the Scriptures. It affirms, further, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the prescribed way to salvation, and that a consecrated priest alone can administer it ; Christ is really present in the consecrated elements ; general councils are infallible ; penances procure forgiveness of sins ; there is a purgatory, and sacrifice of the mass ; celibacy is more holy than matrimony ; the saints intercede with God for men ; prayers for the dead are to be recommended, &c. Newman interprets and misinterprets these Articles in his own manner. He and the whole school would raise the power of the Church to the highest pitch ; and yet they do not at all regard the substance and form of that Church to which they profess to belong.

Mr. Newman, in his *Justification*, distinguishes between the genuine doctrine of the Romish Church from its abuses, and the ancient Catholic Church from the pretended infallible new one. He says, the corrupt Roman system cannot be corrected ; its correction consists in its destruction.

The Church of England has questions open for re-discussion, and all examination cannot be prevented

and forbidden.; yet no good comes from reasoning and argumentation ; but when God awakens the heart, the other gifts follow, and holiness is the true mark of the Church.

Romanists and Ultra-Protestants, says Dr. Pusey, unite against our Church, and call our friends heretics for trifles, while they inconsistently allow or commit other trifles. Many call that Popish which requires a more solemn observance than is convenient to them, or which preserves an ancient doctrine and custom which they do not wish to hear of. Our object is not to remodel our Church, but to obey her, to investigate her peculiarities, to bring more to light, and to realize her doctrines and principles. The English Reformers did not, like Luther, seek to set up a new system of doctrine ; they always appealed to Catholic antiquity, and submitted their own judgment to it. We are not bound to search through the works of the Reformers, and to declare the doctrine of faith according to their views of divine truth, or to recognize as legal, all that may have dropped from them in the embarrassment of the contest. The language of Catholic antiquity in matters of faith is clear and positive ; there are more difficulties and differences in later authors ; it is, therefore, right to refer to the former, in the explanation of the thirty-nine articles. There is a modern endeavour to consider the Reformation

ers, not as instruments of divine Providence to remove errors, but as the founders of a new system of faith, and the authorized expounders of it. The proper question is this, whether we are to learn the sense and meaning of the Scriptures from the ancients or the moderns? Newman's exposition of the articles is agreeable to the former; and our endeavour to give the Church of England a more positive and important tendency, is by no means blameable.

The thirty-nine articles, say other writers, are at once a defence and a bondage. The right of private judgment is of great importance; but not all are qualified for it: wherefore we need in the Church a witness and standard of the truth, without pretending to Romish infallibility. The Church of England is not so remote from the Romish, in respect to doctrine, as the Churches of the Continent; and many early writers in England have made assertions similar to those in No. 90. Catholicism is the only touchstone of truth.

Divine worship, says another writer*, contemplates, solely and simply, one Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier, and Judge. Preaching, speaking, reading, writing, disputing, makes us forget Him, for ourselves. To look to Christ, is to be justified through faith. To think that a man can be justified by faith, is to look away from Christ, and to fall from grace. If the new

* Quarterly Review, cxxvi, p. 530, 538.

Oxford School has, on the one hand, attacked Ultra-Protestantism, it has, on the other hand, assailed Popery. If it made men attentive to their works, it did not impeach justification by faith. It raised the dignity of the clergy, but imposed on them greater moral responsibility ; they revive respect for tradition, and, at the same time, veneration for the Scriptures ; they condemn rationalism, without branding reason ; they urge the examination of the fathers of the Church, but limit the extent of their testimony ; they approve of humiliations and mortifications, but not of superstitious castigations ; they point out the defects of the Reformation, yet gratefully acknowledge the blessings which God vouchsafed to effect through it.

It is necessary and advantageous that a serious school should arise in Oxford, which urges the necessity of self-command and self-knowledge ; does not find the object of life to be mere pleasure ; proves that man has a higher destiny ; calls upon him to exercise self-denial, and fortifies his power for truly virtuous action.

Inasmuch as this new school appeared to deviate from Protestantism, and at the same time combated Popery, it must necessarily be prepared for two-fold attacks. As a representation of the Roman Catholic

view of the subject, I extract the following passages from the Dublin Review*:

We do not aim at the riches of our English neighbours, or at their ecclesiastical institutions, or at their political power, or their arrogated influence ; all these things we look upon as nothing : but we wish for their participation in the security of our faith, and a union in the bonds of charity, by religious agreement ; for all these things we will contend, incessantly and with all our might : and may God defend the right.

It is beyond human strength to patch up the worn-out constitution of the poor old English church. We would have healed Babylon ; but she is not healed. The Oxford Tracts strike boldly and deep into the body of sectarianism ; and the diseased juices of Protestantism must dry up. Let this take place, and Catholic vital energy will circulate in their stead. These authors do not shew moderation and tolerance to those who dissolve the unity of the church ; and therefore, like all severe judges, can expect no favour. Why then have you separated from the Romish Church ? is a question which must occur incessantly to every one who reads these Tracts. We reject proselytism, if it is understood as a continual

* Dublin Review, July, 1837, page 79—April, 1838, p. 308, 334.

and importunate interference ; but if it is meant as a wish to bring others to the knowledge of what we ourselves confess is truth, that we recommend this truth by word and deed, at the same time acting with prudence and zeal—in this sense proselytism is an essential part of the spirit of Christian charity.

All these religious disputes had so far a political side, as the system of the Oxford divines inclined to those who place the command of passive obedience at the head of their political views, and believe that all social evils may be thereby most effectually remedied. A sermon preached by Dr. Pusey*, in commemoration of the revolution of 1688, excited opposition, because it revived the doctrines of the Jacobites and Nonjurors. Abstract doctrines, it was objected, without explanation and consideration of individual cases and circumstances, do not lead to any useful results. A predilection for exclusive, unconditional systems, has a dark as well as a light side, and is often deficient in the tolerance indispensable in social relations. It is especially easy to fall into absurdities, if we misinterpret Jewish precedents and apply them to our own times—if we represent the church as independent of the state, and, for the sake of the question—who shall govern?—wholly forget how to govern legally.

* Edinburgh Review, vol. lxvi, p. 396.

Almost any one who takes a lively and active interest in the affairs of the church and religion, laments the many disputes indicated in the preceding pages; and, in fact, being carried on in a violent and intolerant spirit, they have often led to the most deplorable consequences. Yet there is a blameable indifference, as well as an arrogant contentiousness. Between both there is a development of opposing principles adapted to human nature, which in the end promotes truth. We may therefore approve the authors of the Oxford Tracts for having in our days brought forward the serious tide of Christianity, for investigating Christian antiquity, and proving that there is much in it which may be applied to Protestantism, and is not to be rejected with certain abuses of the Romish church. They also justly invoke the rights of the church and the dignity of the clergy, and oppose the interference of ignorant and unauthorized persons.

On the other hand, zeal in advocating well-acquired convictions easily leads too far; seeks the seriousness of Christianity partly in external things; claims rights for the church which injure the state and individuals; disregards new relations and wants*,

* The church, says Professor Sewel, in his book on Christian Morals, claims a power which places it almost on a level with God himself; the power to forgive sins, to remove souls from heaven to hell, to call down the Holy Ghost from heaven, &c.

from love for antiquity which cannot be entirely restored; busies itself with the Fathers, rather than with the Reformers, and lays too great a stress on the external propagation of churchdom by the apostolical succession. But is Christianity, it may be asked, so essentially dependent upon this symbolically pervading thread, which might be broken by accident or death?

It appears to be a very simple demand, to recognize as undeniable truth, what has been always, every where, and by all persons, recognized, and handed down as such. It would seem that it was impossible there could be any dispute about what is acknowledged by all, and that the unity and concordance of all Christian confessions would be immediate, and without the least difficulty; but now, not only are those who are not Christians denied the right of speaking, or giving an opinion, but every party, Romanists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, declares that it alone is in possession of the whole truth. The part is magnified into the whole; the few are made equal to all; and the vivifying spirit of Christianity is sought, not in that in which all agree, but in that in which they differ: hence intolerance and ambition on all sides. The author of heresies, says Mr. Newman, ought to meet with no

mercy*. He undertakes the business of the tempter, and must be treated for his errors by the competent authority, as a devil incarnate. To spare him is a false and dangerous pity ; for he plunges thousands of souls into danger, and has no pity on himself.

The grand inquisitor, Torquemada, might subscribe to this, and burn Mr. Newman accordingly ; while the latter would probably rather bear the reproach of inconsistency, than see such an application made of his doctrine. According to his own interpretation, however, of the preceding expressions, Mr. Newman would not apply temporal, but only spiritual means. To this it may be replied, that the Church has claimed, and but too often succeeded in carrying its means and punishments to the extreme, and in connecting with them a number of the most severe temporal consequences. What consequences ensue, when the several religious parties are permitted to designate, and to punish without restriction, a few or many individuals as heretics and sectarians, is manifest from the whole history of the Church, and, in our days, in the strife, which, in spite of the decision of those said to be authorized, is overthrowing the Scotch, and threatening the English Church. The required, unconditional (in reality, impossible) inde-

* Quoted in the remarks on the Oxford Tracts.

pendence of the Church from the State would hardly lead to liberty, but very easily to a more partial and more severe tyranny. The minds of men would not be united by Christian charity, but the peculiar opinions of a party be forced upon them as divine commandments. The State, it has been said, should have a religious conscience: certainly; but it must be above any single party. There is an abstract doctrine of ONE truth which puts an end to all vivifying diversity and development, in philosophy, politics, nature, history, nationality, and churchdom, and fancies that, from its subordinate, partial point of view, it can overlook the whole. The various tendencies of intellectual activity most effectually estimate and purify each other, when, as now in Germany, no positive persecutions and penalties are suffered for either the one or the other. In this manner true Christianity is less liable to serious and permanent danger, and the many ways of approaching God are more easily found, than when zealots attempt to enclose all mankind in the same circumscribed barrier. While every church brands the other with heresy, and the adherents of every creed condemn the others, none of them will become truly Catholic; but opportunity will be given to sensitive minds to take serious offence, and to the light-minded to ridicule and despise those zealots.

LETTER XXVI.

The Finances.

London, August 29, 1841.

IN the year 1835, I gave so detailed an account of the English finances* that very little need now be added respecting them. Perhaps it may be objected that that report, which speaks of the state of the revenue and expenses, and the course of the administration, in so laudatory and satisfactory a manner, is, at this moment, devoid of all truth, and must be reversed, because the expenditure has for some years exceeded the revenue; and this bad management of the finances is the cause of the fall of the ministers, who are now going out. Let us leave out of the question the various causes of the change of ministers, as well as all party accusations, in order the more clearly to ascertain the simple facts.

The expenditure exceeded the revenue, in the year†

1837, by £ 726,000

1838, , , 440,000

* England, iii, letter 63.

† Hansard, lli, 183; lvii, 1295. The sums differ from each other according to the several estimates.

1839,	„	£1,512,000
1840,	„	1,197,000
1841,	„	1,700,000

The funded debt amounted, in the year

1831,	to £757,486,000
1839,	“ 761,346,000

An increase therefore of £3,860,000

These figures seem to prove, mathematically, decline and bad management; and, in fact, they have been appealed to, and brought forward for this purpose; and yet, on further examination, the matter assumes a different shape.

The net revenue amounted, in the year

1836,	to £46,380,000
1837,	„ 48,453,000
1838,	„ 46,090,000
1839,	„ 47,833,000
1840,	„ 47,843,000

Even from this it appears that the revenue is not regularly falling off, while a number of great and extraordinary expenses (for instance, for Syria, Canada, and China) have been requisite. In truth, however, the revenue has considerably increased, as soon as we take into account how many taxes have been repealed. Mr. Labouchere proved that the

taxes repealed* since 1830, when the Whigs came into power, were

In the customs.....	£2,163,000
The increased duty.....	<hr/> 656,000
Remains decrease....	£1,507,000
Reduction in the excise., ..	£4,656,000
Increase of duty.....	<hr/> 181,000
Remains decrease....	£4,475,000
Reduction of stamp duty....	566,000
Reduction in all departments	6,284,000
Reduction in the post-office.	<hr/> 1,000,000
Total reduction.....	£7,284,000

It may be taken for granted that the total amount of the taxes gradually repealed for the last ten years is, in round numbers, fifty millions sterling ; consequently that far more has been taken off than the amount of the gradual deficiency ; so that the whole question would resolve itself into this, whether the expenses were necessary, and the repeal of the taxes judicious ? Parliament has answered both questions in the affirmative ; and we shall see below that the deficiency hence arising gave occasion to a

* Hansard, liv, 154.

very useful investigation into the whole financial system. Even the increase of the debt assumes another form on closer inspection.

The funded debt amounted, in 1839, to
 £3,860,000 more than in 1831.

The unfunded debt, on the contrary, amounted, in
 1831, to £27,271,000

1839, " 24,655,000

Now less by . . . £ 2,616,000

Remains increase of debt . . £ 1,244,000

But, as in the mean time 20,000,000
 were borrowed for the emancipation
 of the negroes, there was, in fact, a ——————
 diminution of £18,756,000

In the year 1839, the net revenue of the duties on

Coffee, amounted to.....£ 755,000

Corn and flour.....1,101,000

Wool..... 140,000

Timber, about.....2,000,000

Wine..... 1,734,000

Rum and brandy, about.....2,500,000

Molasses..... 240,000

Sugar..... 4,224,000

Tobacco..... 2,737,000, &c.

The excise duties in Great Britain produced

Auctions.....	£ 289,000
Bricks.....	470,000
Glass.....	859,000
Hops.....	294,000
Licenses.....	906,000
Malt.....	4,853,000
Paper.....	640,000
Post horses and licenses....	227,000
Soap.....	1,049,000
Brandy.....	4,040,000
Wine vinegar.....	24,000
Beetroot sugar.....	9 13 3½

The assessed taxes produced

Land-tax.....	£1,178,000
Window-tax.....	1,299,000
Servants	201,000
Carriages.....	447,000
Riding horses.....	319,000
Dogs.....	159,000
Hair-powder.....	6,000
Armorial bearings.....	64,000
Game licenses.....	150,000, &c.

The crown lands produced about £350,000.

The expenditure amounted, for the

National debt and exchequer bills.....	£29,453,000
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Civil list.....	652,000
The army.....	6,542,000
The navy.....	5,490,000
The ordnance.....	1,951,000
Canada.....	647,000
Justice.....	700,000
Foreign department, &c....	186,000
 The English ambassador in	
Paris, receives annually.....	£9,000
Petersburgh.....	11,000
Vienna.....	8,000
Constantinople,.....	7,000
Berlin.....	5,000

Though England, whose wealth has so immensely increased since the peace, can easily make good a deficiency in the revenue, which was caused by extraordinary expenses, and too extensive an abolition of taxes ; it was, however, a question, difficult to decide, what measures would be the most suitable for this purpose. The investigations into this subject, in particular, brought to light a great many defects in the English system of import duties, and the necessity of altering them. An admirable report*, founded on many examinations, respecting the import duties, shews :—

* Digest of Evidence on the Import Duties.

Firstly—That a vast number of articles are liable to duty which produce a very trifling revenue, and which it would, therefore, be better to strike out of the Tariff*.	
Of the net receipt of customs for 1839, amounting to	£22,962,000
146 articles produced	22,881,000
10 articles alone produced	20,871,000
While 194 articles produced only ..	76,000
And 1136 articles † only	944,000

Secondly—The duty on most of these unproductive articles was imposed, because the national landowners and manufacturers asked, and obtained protection against foreign competition. Saxony and Switzerland, says the Report, which have no protective duties, are, in proportion, better off than France, which first introduced and pertinaciously maintains them; and, even in England, the protective system, as such, has wholly failed, and has produced opposite, prejudicial consequences. For instance, it makes foreign manufactures sought after, while it renders our own dear, and turns activity and capital into false channels. The protective duty is, in general, asked at the beginning, for a

* I endeavoured to prove the same thing in 1835. England, vol. iii, letter lxv.

† I do not find that the unproductive articles were charged with a duty merely to ascertain the quantity imported.

short time only, under the pretext, of assisting new enterprizes to overcome the first great difficulties ; but experience has always proved, that the longer the protection continues, the louder do the protected cry out for its permanency. When Mr. J. D. Hume (an officer much experienced in the customs) was asked, would you abolish the Protective Duties, if no foreign countries did so ? he answered, undoubtedly, and even without requiring them to do so* !

As soon as the manufacture of beetroot-sugar (which has given occasion, on the Continent, to so many financial errors and mistakes) was spoken of in England, Mr. Poulett Thompson, one of the ministers, proposed to impose on it a duty of twenty-four shillings per cwt. †, which was agreed to without the slightest objection. If, said Mr. Thompson, we suffer beetroot-sugar to be exempt from duty, we lose a considerable revenue, without any gain to the purchasers and consumers ; and it is no advantage, but, on the contrary, an injury, to agriculture, to encourage this new branch in so artificial a manner.

The result of the above investigations into the customs, and the deficiency unprovided for, gave a two-fold occasion to propose, instead of petty or

* Report, page 9.

† Hansard, xxviii, 1669.

worn-out remedies; greater and more comprehensive measures. The ministry shewed that loans, in the ordinary state of things, and especially in time of peace, were an objectionable resource ; that an augmentation of the existing taxes would make but an inconsiderable increase in the revenue ; that an income tax was attended with great difficulties, and ought likewise to be reserved for times of war. It was, therefore, necessary to think of measures, by which the whole nation would not be oppressed, but rather relieved, and at the same time a revenue be obtained for the state ; that a thorough correction of the tariff ; an alteration of the duties on timber, sugar, and corn ; in a word, *a trade freed from innumerable impediments and fetters, must be the basis of the future advance of England's prosperity.*

The ministry, in doing this, either advocated the interests of all the inhabitants of England, or, as others affirmed, attacked them. Lord John Russell was very sensible of this, when he said, “ I do not stand here as the advocate of the men who belong to the great branches of commerce, or are connected with the colonial interests ; I do not speak for a second great body, strengthened by connections, signatures, advertisements, public meetings, &c. I speak of another body, which is almost always help-

less; namely, of the great mass of Her Majesty's subjects, whose interests, welfare, and happiness, essentially depend on the decision at which Parliament may arrive."

The Parliament has decided—it has rejected the proposals, and the ministers. Before I attempt to sum up the arguments on both sides, I venture to affirm, that Lord John Russell's reference to the situation of the people was strong and positive; but still not strong and comprehensive enough. There were good and satisfactory reasons for the abolition, in the seventeenth century, of feudal services and feudal impositions; but that a system of taxation was then established, which has been since extended more and more, which bears incomparably more heavily on the lower and poorer classes, than on the great and rich, is a crying injustice, in spite of ancient and long-established customs: the enormously high and productive duties on beer, brandy, sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, corn, butter, cheese, &c. take from the poor man (who, besides, purchases at a higher rate in small quantities) a far greater portion of his income than from the rich; nay, this injustice extends to the minutest particular. Thus, for instance, a pound of tobacco which is worth only four-pence pays

three shillings duty, as well as that which is worth four shillings a pound ; and expensive fish, such as turbot, lobsters, turtle, are imported duty free ; while the inferior kinds, which are the food of the common people, are subject to duty. The immense landed possessions of the great nobility are transmitted to their heirs without stamp-duty, while the most trifling inheritance of another description is taxed. Lastly, the national debt, which, in its totality, and so far as the English are at the same time the creditors, is to be considered as much a capital as a debt, is undoubtedly a very heavy burden on the majority, inasmuch as they have to furnish the greater part of the interest, by partially imposed taxes, without ever having a share in the receipt.

All these instances of injustice not only bear the punishment which a conscience, not wholly deadened, imposes on the unjust ; but they are the chief causes of the evils of too great an abundance of riches, or of extreme poverty, which legislators, like Moses, Lycurgus, Solon, Servius Tullius, endeavoured to obviate ; which the Christian Church alleviated, and the present English lawgivers ought to remedy with a bold and, at the same time, benevolent hand. The nobility who, in the middle ages, bore the whole

burden of war, can by no means be called upon in our days to bear it exclusively ; but this inequality of taxation has, in a great measure, given rise to the poor-rates ; and Chartism, as well as all the great divisions among the people, are unhappily but too closely connected with it.

LETTER XXVII.

Duty on Timber and Sugar.

London, August 30, 1841.

AT the conclusion of my preceding letter, I suffered myself to indulge in general observations ; and I now return to the several proposals of the ministry, and, first, on the duty on timber and sugar.

The timber* coming from the Baltic is incomparably better than that from Canada ; but is subject, in innumerable little gradations, to so much higher a duty, that it is often exported first to Canada, and then brought to England as Canadian timber.

When Baltic timber paid (per load) on an average	55s.
Canadian timber paid	10

Thus enjoying a protective duty of .. 45

* England, vol. iii. letter lxv, 11th of September. Westminster Review, 1837, p. 107.

The ministry proposed to fix the duty on Baltic timber at.....	50s.
And on Canadian timber at	20

Consequently there still remained a differ- ence of.....	30
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The increase of the duty on Canadian timber, and the reduction on Baltic timber, was justified by this desire of obtaining a greater revenue ; yet Canada would, in fact, not have paid more than before ; because it was proposed, at the same time, to reduce or abolish several other duties. The opponents of the measure affirmed, that it would excite fresh discontent in Canada, and would ruin the colonies, the English manufactories, and English navigation. To this it was replied, the difference of 30 shillings in the duty is more than sufficient to protect the Canadian timber trade. The English ship-builders will gain by the purchase of better timber at a lower price, and will never want for employment ; the manufacturers will find their advantage in a more regular and natural trade ; and the colonies will be able to employ their labour and capital to advantage, without exorbitantly taxing the consumers in the mother country.

Sugar from the English colonies paid, hitherto,	
per cwt. a duty of.....	29s.
Foreign sugars.....	68

The ministry proposed to retain the first duty, but to reduce the latter to forty-one shillings; so that there would still be a difference of twelve shillings per cwt.

The adversaries of this proposal affirmed, that so much sugar was produced in the English colonies, that there was no need at all of foreign sugar; that such a reduction in the duty of foreign, especially Brazilian sugar, would ruin all the West India planters, and promote slavery to a fearful extent: that, after all that England had done for the abolition of slavery, it would be unjust and absurd to purchase slave-cultivated sugar, and thereby indirectly encourage slavery, while the English consumers would derive a very inconsiderable advantage from the reduction of the duty; besides, the sugar coming from Cuba was better than that from the Antilles; so that the protecting duty would be doubly insufficient. It would therefore be better to encourage the cultivation of sugar in India, than to admit foreign sugar into the British market.

To this the advocates of the measure replied, whereas the consumption of tea and coffee has in-

creased 80 per cent. since 1821, the consumption of sugar* has increased only 15 per cent., nay, of late years, it has even decreased. In the year 1801, the consumption in England amounted to 440 ounces per head ; in 1811, to 429 ; in 1821, to 333 ounces only ; this is an undeniable consequence of the insufficient importation, of the high prices, and of the West India monopoly. In the year 1831, English sugar was worth per cwt. 23s. 8d.

Foreign	17	11
in 1840, English sugar was worth.	49	1
Foreign.....	21	6

Each individual consumed,

in the year 1831, about 20lbs.

„ 1840, „ 15lbs.

The West India planters have always complained. They were always dissatisfied† ; the enormously high protective duty and the monopoly have not profited them, but injured everybody else. Twenty millions sterling have been paid to them for the abolition of slavery ; and now they require that England should annually purchase sugar of them at arbitrary prices, which it can procure in other markets cheaper by some millions. They have long since been told, your monopoly cannot continue, and it is at length time to

* Report on East India Trade, 1840, vol. viii. Mac Gregor. The Common Sense View of the Sugar Question.

† Hansard, lvi, p. 606

realize this just warning, and to prevent a change, detrimental to England, in the tariffs of Brazil and North America.

The cultivation of sugar may, and will, increase in India. Let this cultivation be encouraged by equalizing the East and West India duties*, but not by artificial means, tending to produce a new monopoly. There are, beside, many obstacles to a rapid increase in the production of sugar in India; want of skill, ignorance, want of machines, high rents, interests and taxes. In the West Indies too, the exportation of sugar has not increased within these five-and-twenty years; it has not decreased since the emancipation of the slaves. On the contrary, in the nature of things, the production of sugar, as well by free, as by slave labour, must keep within certain limits, which are not sufficient for the present demand. It has been said, India must send annually immense sums to England†, and can only pay in sugar. But the exportation of sugar has taken place only within these five or six years, and amounted, in 1837, to no more than seven hundred thousand lbs. or only one twentieth of the total exportation. The profit on that sugar cannot exceed £140,000, or three-halfpence per head.

* Royle, Productive Resource of India, 88.

† Edinburgh Review, July, 1841.

The great outcry*, that slavery will be promoted in a scandalous manner, by reducing the duties on foreign sugar, is a mere pretext; and, what is very singular, those persons are the loudest, who, in former times, most violently resisted the abolition of the slave-trade. Their assertions too, which are denied by the opponents of slavery†, that slave labour is cheaper than the labour of free men, includes, indirectly, a very tempting praise of slavery, while all the productions of slave labour are bought and sold, without hesitation or scruples of conscience, while slave sugar is almost exclusively sent to the British colonies; virtue and humanity, and Christianity, are all at once appealed to and impressed, because the people of England desire to have cheap sugar, and no longer to make the West Indians a present of two or three millions sterling. The greatest quantity of sugar consumed by the richest man in England, amounts annually to..... 68lbs
that of the common sailor, to..... 34lbs.

Thus, in this indispensable article, the price of which is artificially enhanced, the difference is only as two to one; whereas, in other articles, it is a hundred times greater. And this tax, which is, in

* There are still in India many slaves, and workmen in a state resembling slavery.—Times, 3rd Sept. 1841,—From Official Reports.

† The sugar produced by free labourers in Porto Rico is the same price as the slave sugar of Cuba.

proportion, extremely oppressive to the poorer class, is to be still retained for the advantage of a few monopolists; and it is affirmed, that the proposed protective duty, amounting still to 50 per cent. is not sufficient. Besides this, no notice is taken of the fact, that the ministry at the same time proposed to reduce the duties on a number of articles which are now dearer in the colonies than in England; for instance, beef, pork, milk, butter, cheese, fish, shingles, &c.

At first, the Tories said, our colonies will be ruined by the abolition of the slave-trade; now they prophecy the same thing, unless the protective duty includes an unconditional prohibition of the importation of foreign sugar. Both prophesies will prove equally fallacious.

The West Indians, said Lord Howick*, will avoid every exertion, if we induce them to lean on the broken reed of the protective duty and monopoly. Whatever may be the immediate result of the attempt to reform our commercial legislation, no one, who has observed the signs of the times and the progress of public opinion, can entertain the least doubt that it will at length succeed and triumph. Sir Robert Peel may take the same course on this subject, that (unhappily for his reputation) he took in

* Hansard, lviii, 277.

the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. He may prevent, for the moment, good and useful improvements; but they must at length take place. Formerly, all spoke against free-trade; now all speak for it; only every one would desire to establish and maintain for himself, some bad exception.

Lord Palmerston treated, in a masterly manner, and with dramatic effect, the question of the purchase of Brazilian sugar. He said* :—“ We say to the Brazilians, we can supply you with better and cheaper cotton manufactured goods than any other nation; will you buy them? With pleasure, answer the Brazilians; and we will pay for them with our sugar and coffee. No, we reply; your sugar and coffee are produced by slave labour; we are men of principle, and our conscience does not permit us to take sugar and coffee produced by slave labour.” Very well; every one must suppose that the negotiation now comes to an end, that we send our goods to a market of free labourers, and the Brazilians eat and drink their sugar and coffee by themselves. By no means. “ We are men of principle;” but we are also traders, and endeavour to help the Brazilians out of their difficulty. We say to them, It is true, we cannot consume your slave sugar and coffee; but near to us, quite at hand, live forty mil-

• Hansard, lviii, p. 646.

lions of active, thriving Germans, who are not so conscientious as we are ; take your sugar to them ; they will buy it, and you can pay us with the money you receive from them. For though we will not buy your sugar and coffee, we have not the slightest scruple about taking the money which you receive for them. The Brazilians, however, represent that the matter will be attended with some difficulties. The Germans, say they, live on the other side of the ocean ; we have but a few ships—unfit for so long and dangerous a voyage, and in these we cannot send our coffee and sugar. Do not be uneasy on that account, we reply ; we have abundance of ships, which are quite at your service. The produce of slave labour, it is true, would defile our warehouses, shops, and tables ; but our ships are very different things ; they shall convey your sugar for you. The Brazilians, however, raise a new difficulty ; they say, the Germans have their own notions on this subject, and are particularly fond of refined sugar ; now, it is difficult to refine sugar in Brazil, and the Germans, too, willingly avoid this trouble. That does not signify, we will assist you on this point also ; we will not only convey your sugar, but likewise refine it for you. It is true, indeed, that it is sinful to consume slave sugar ; but there can be no objection to refining it ; which, in fact, is nothing more than freeing it from a

portion of its original impurity. Accordingly, we purify the sugar, and fancy that we have attained our object. By no means; the Brazilians make a fresh objection, and say, we produce more sugar than the Germans will buy; at all events, more than they will buy at a price that will pay us. What shall we do with the over-plus? Well, our kindness is inexhaustible; after we have helped the Brazilians so far, we are resolved not to cease till we have brought them safe through all their difficulties. We say, there is yet one means, we will ourselves buy the overplus of your sugar; it cannot, indeed, be consumed by the inhabitants of this kingdom—of this mother country (for we are conscientious people)—but we will send it to the West Indies, and to Australia, where only negroes and colonists live, who have, or make, no pretensions to conscience and conscientiousness; your slave sugar can do them no harm. Nay, that you may not again trouble us with these matters, we tell you, in a word, as soon as our sugar rises above a certain price, we will purchase your slave sugar and consume it ourselves."

And now let me ask, said Lord Palmerston, without meaning any offence, whether, since these things are as notorious as the sun at noon-day, it is not the most flagrant hypocrisy to oppose, under such pretexts, measures which would promote our

commerce, and increase our public revenue ? Those who now oppose our plans will find themselves compelled, as soon as they come to the government, to propose and carry them into effect.

Lord Sandon's motion, that the House of Commons is not prepared to adopt the proposed measures, was carried by a majority of thirty-six votes. It was resolved not to engage in any thing under the existing ministry ; but, at the same time, to remain unfettered in case of a change. Accordingly, Mr. Macaulay said : " It is not the first time in history that a party which has taken no share in the burden and heat of the day, gathers the harvest."

To this first victory over the ministry, was added the second, on the question of confidence in them. I have no inclination in this place to enter into the arguments, but only extract a passage from the speech of Sir John Hobhouse*, which contains a sketch of the character of Sir Robert Peel. The reader may compare this picture, drawn by a lay opponent, with that which I have already quoted from a theological adversary†. Sir J. Hobhouse, after doing justice to the talents of Sir Robert Peel, especially as a Parliamentary debater, continued—" His whole career has been one of ineffectual resistance

* Hansard, 854.

† England in 1841, end of letter xx.

and extorted concession ; he has seldom taken a position on any great question, which he did not afterwards abandon ; he attempted to swim against the tide of public opinion, but was always turned back, landed on one sand-bank after another ; which, however, sank under him, so that he was always carried further down the stream ; if he was saved, he is indebted for his safety to his having yielded to the current, against which he had all his life contended in vain. He is not the leader and master of events, but is carried away by them. This may be his misfortune, rather than his fault ; but so it is. With his political discoveries he has always come too late ; and he seems to want the acuteness of perception which foresees the signs of the times, and their consequences. He, not unfrequently, does what is right ; but after such long hesitation, and in such a manner, that he generally fails in acquiring the entire esteem of his opponents, or securing the sincere attachment of his friends. Hence it is, that, with all his talents, his favourable position, his numerous adherents, he will hardly become a great minister, and still less, a great man. I shall be happy if his future conduct, and his services, refute this prophecy”

I hope that these specimens of Parliamentary

eloquence will appear more attractive than if I had placed in contact with each other, long and conflicting calculations on the prices of timber and sugar. The third, and most important question, that on the Corn Laws, I will endeavour to illustrate more in detail, and more fully, in my next letter.

LETTER XXVIII.

The Corn Laws.

London, July 6, 1841.

YOU ask me to furnish you with a complete exposition, and a thorough critical examination, of the English Corn Laws ; no light task, nor one that can be performed without much deliberation.* If, even in Germany, the opinions upon this important subject differ widely, they must do so still more in England, where the prejudices and passions are naturally stronger in their bearing on the question : what one proclaims as self-evident truth, appears to the other, error and folly. Were I to pronounce my judgment hastily and peremptorily, without a due regard to the arguments of either party, I should neither succeed in convincing you, nor converting others. If any one sincerely wishes to arrive at the truth, he must shun no pains in investigating, and reflecting on so comprehensive a subject, neither receiving nor rejecting any assertion, without the closest and fullest examination. He must even strive to comprehend the very prejudices and errors, and must beware of being hurried away by the pas-

sions which he condemns in others. It is only by following these rules, that the enquirer can hope to be regarded, not as a vexatious enemy, but as one who is anxious to conciliate opposing parties, and find out what is beneficial for all.

If you will accompany me in this long and toilsome road, which, however, is the only one which can conduct us to a satisfactory conclusion, I must begin with the somewhat egotistical request, that you will peruse what I have already stated on this subject in my England in 1835, vol. i, letter 34. I have no cause to retract the opinion I there expressed; on the contrary, the events of the last years have illustrated and confirmed my assertions.

At first, it appeared to me advisable to divide and arrange scientifically the continuation of my communication; after more mature deliberation, it seemed to me that it would prove more interesting to show, historically, how these opinions have become gradually developed since 1835, have either clashed with one another, or become mutually reconciled. For this end, I purpose, briefly and impartially,

1st. To recapitulate what has been said in Parliament by the opponents and defenders of the Corn Laws;

2nd. To give the substance of the numerous writings for and against these laws; and, lastly,

3rd. To point out what is likely to be the ultimate result of impartial deliberation, and of the most recent ministerial measures.

I. PARLIAMENTARY TRANSACTIONS.

A. *Opponents of the Corn Laws.*

The opponents of the Corn Laws, who, in Parliament, from the year 1837 to 1840, for the most part required their total abolition, supported their opinions by contending, that the obvious and admitted object of all Corn Laws is to raise the price of grain to an artificial height, and, by laying on an import duty equal to a complete prohibition, to create a monopoly of the most indispensable of all the necessities of life. About two hundred thousand landed proprietors, already wealthy enough, wished (said they) to enrich themselves still more, at the expense of twenty-four millions of the poor and needy. The interests of all the inhabitants of the state, which by nature are alike, become divided; hence arise oppositions, and party enmities—artificial, indeed, but not on that account less dangerous.

A high price of grain is necessarily followed by an injurious alteration of many other prices; the state expenses (for example, those of the army and navy) are increased; while, for the sake of satisfying the cupidity of a few, the revenue, which is undoubtedly

derivable from the regular importation of grain, is thoughtlessly renounced.

On the other hand, it is added, the superfluity of occasional abundant seasons can never be exported, since the home price has been artificially raised above that of foreign countries. What would the sellers (who find it so wise and necessary to force a high price upon the buyers) say, if, upon similar easily-found reasons, a compulsory *selling rate* were fixed *below* the natural market-price.

In the end, this, like every other act of selfishness, brings its own punishment. Hence (not to advert to other consequences) through means of the Corn Laws much capital is driven into those channels which yield less interest, efforts are misdirected which otherwise would yield speedy and rich returns, and the ill-grounded rejoicing of the short-sighted monopolist is unexpectedly changed into lasting grief. Instead of undertaking improvements in agriculture at the right time and place, they are begun at the wrong time, and in the wrong place; and the mass of the people must in consequence eat dear bread, in order to cover the losses of thoughtless purchasers and imprudent speculators, misled by pernicious laws.

Alterations in the Corn Laws may, as an immediate effect, have an advantageous or disadvantageous

working for the farmer: at the expiration of the leases, the equilibrium is restored; and the interest of the farmer is not always identical with that of the landlord. To raise the rents permanently (not to make a gift to the farmer), is the main object of all the English Corn Laws; and, accordingly, the value of land and the amount of rents have increased four-fold within a hundred years,—certainly, in a great measure, at the cost of the rest of the people, by means of forced high prices. If any one is inclined to deny this, or represent it as unimportant, then he must admit that trade and manufactures, which are now left helpless, have produced this miracle. Certainly, the rent of the land is not regulated by the price of agricultural products alone; but good or bad farming, capital, industry, &c. have also a marked influence on it.

Many maintain that the agriculturists require higher protecting duties, because they are subject to heavier taxes and burdens. In reply to this, we must call to mind,

1st. That many real positive burdens, remaining fixed, are subtracted when land is bought, sold, or inherited, and must here be left out of account.

2nd. The taxes on the proprietors and agriculturists have been materially diminished by the new poor-law and commutation of tithes.

3rd. They are exempt from many other duties, such as those on windows, dogs, horses, auctions, and the high legacy duties. These taxes, too, have never varied, let the price of grain be what it many.

That by the abolition of the Corn Laws much land would be allowed to lie waste, cannot be proved; and it would only be necessary to return to the proportionate and natural rents and interest, and put a period to the hitherto existing system of injustice.

Many persons regard the present Corn Laws as the necessary counterpart of the protective duties on manufactures; but the more intelligent and enterprising manufacturers know that they, in truth, gain nothing by them, and would willingly consent to their removal. Moreover, the commercial duties amount to only twenty or thirty per cent., while, on the other hand, the duties on grain amount to eighty or a hundred per cent.; and it was only after lowering the former (for example, on foreign silk goods) that their manufacture decidedly prospered. Besides, if the difference of taxes and wages, in foreign countries, could justify the duties on grain, the manufacturers would have the same title to make equally erroneous claims.

Through the operation of the Corn Laws, the land is rendered dear, and remains in the hands of the few and the rich; while this kind of property

should be made easily attainable by all. The opinion, that wages rise with the price of corn, is also erroneous ; and it is much more frequently observed, that when the prices are low, there is the greatest demand, and the most abundant employment. It is only after long periods, and after regular equal prices, that the wages become regulated, to a certain extent, if not altogether, by the price of food. High prices can only be profitable to the landed proprietor ; not to the farmer or labourer. The revenue of the state gains just as little by the high price of corn ; and the income which might be derived from a properly regulated duty on foreign imported grain, has been wantonly abandoned by the present foolish system of laws.

In their natural and inartificial relation, the agriculture and manufactures of England would uniformly have the pre-eminence in the whole world ; at present, the former is excluded from all competition, and a similar fate threatens the latter. It is a palpable absurdity, always to wish to *sell* to foreign countries, without ever *buying* from them in return. In this manner (say they) we compel customers and consumers to become changed into successful rivals, and to counteract our perverted legislation, by a similar system : thus the export of cotton goods to Germany amounted,

In the year 1834, to.....11,045,000 yards.

In the year 1838, to only... 5,562,000 yards.

The export of cloth, in 1832, 17,855 pieces.

„ „ „ 1837, 6,073

The export of hosiery to Peru,

In the year 1827, to 29,810 lbs.

„ 1834, to..... 8,760 „

Similar results are afforded by other articles ; and if the exportation has any where increased, it has only been of the raw material, which has returned in a manufactured state, and undersold the English manufacture. For a short time only, by greater capital and superior skill, can these dangers be met ; but the foreign trade of England must soon be entirely lost ; and then, when too late, the discovery will also be made, that the home trade is likewise injured by the high prices of corn.

Others say, England must maintain its independence of other countries, above all in respect to the most indispensable of the necessities of life. She has, however, *not* been made independent by all the artificial legislation, but still stands in need of foreign grain, as she does of a thousand other foreign articles. This reciprocal dependence of different states and nations, lays the foundation of a higher and more general fellowship ; it is no evil ; but, on the contrary, a great benefit, and a blessing for all. If that object, so foolishly recommended and sought after, had been

attained, there would have been an end of the commerce, and an end of the greatness and glory of England.

Instead of the natural, useful, and regular dependence of a uniform trade, the Corn Laws have brought it into the most complete confusion. The demand for foreign grain only arising suddenly, and at uncertain intervals, the price rises enormously, the stores of foreign countries are exhausted, and weak or timid governments are compelled to forbid the export, to our detriment. Instead of paying for the corn with goods (they argue), we are compelled, within a short period, to send out large sums in bullion, by which (not to mention other bad consequences) a general panic and disorder in the money market and exchanges are produced.

The present tariff, which exacts a high duty when the price of corn is low, and falls as the price rises, has by no means tended, as was confidently expected, to put an end to the fluctuations of the price. The complaints, only too well founded, of the alternately too high and too low prices of grain, have never ceased. And, nevertheless, we have pertinaciously adhered to that sliding scale, which we have not had the courage or folly to impose on any other article of commerce. The average price per quarter was, in 1828, seventy-five shillings, and in 1836, only thirty-

six shillings. The difference between the prices of 1836 and 1839 amounted to one hundred and ten per cent. Since the year 1828, the price of the quarter of wheat was,

For 17 months, less than 40s.

23	,	between 40s. and 50s.
48	,	50s. „ 60s.
38	,	60s. „ 70s.
16	,	70s. „ 80s.
1	,	80s. „ 90s.

In 1835, there were imported 28,000 quarters,
at an average price of.....39s. 4d.

1836.... 30,000 quarters; average, 48s. 6d.
1837....244,000 „ „ 55s. 10d.
1838..1,853,000 „ „ 64s. 7d.
1839..2,711,000 „ „ 70s. 8d.

In 1834, the value of all the home-grown wheat
was estimated at.....£36,933,000

„ Value of the foreign, imported...101,000

In 1839...Home-grown..... £56,533,000
„ Foreign..... 7,515,000

The duty averaged, from August, 1838, to May, 1839, 1s. 7d. a quarter; it amounted in the year before to £1 3s.

Hence it follows—First, that the sliding scale did not prevent a fluctuation of prices between 36s. and 90s. Second—That the holders of foreign corn

did not begin to sell till the scarcity was greatest, and the duty had sunk to 1s. per quarter. Third—That England, which by means of the present corn laws expected to become independent of foreign countries, has been under the necessity of paying, in one year, fifty million dollars for foreign wheat (exclusive of other grain). Fourth—That by this law the agriculturist is not secured against too low, nor the consumer against too high prices. The insecurity which naturally attends all farming operations is thus artificially increased ; and yet upon such arrangements, it is pretended that the welfare of the agriculturists depends.

A free trade offers the most extended market, the most uniform and moderate prices ; brings every thing into that natural equilibrium so advantageous to all parties ; increases capital and profits ; and is as necessary as civil and religious freedom. If the present system be not amended at the right time, passionate and intemperate demands will obtain the ascendant at the moment of accidental scarcity : compulsory concessions merit no thanks,—anarchical plans grow out of the discontent,—an income tax for equalizing rich and poor becomes inevitable,—and the fate of the French aristocracy awaits the English.

B. *Defenders of the Corn Laws.*

Let us now hear what the defenders of the corn

laws oppose to these statements. The corn laws (they say) must by all means be supported—

First—Because they afford the agriculturist an indispensable protection.

Second—Because they secure and maintain the property of the landowner and farmer.

Third—Because they afford the means of employment to a large number of persons. People are wrong in complaining of the dear bread in England, while it is cheap in foreign countries ; for the former is excellent, the latter so bad that none of the complainers would eat it, even if it was given them for nothing. And the Englishman, from his high wages, can easily pay for the dear bread ; while the foreigner, from the lower rate of wages, is often unable to buy even the cheap.

Although rents are higher in England than in other countries, yet this is not the result of a monopoly, but of a great many concurrent circumstances ; and it is not to be forgotten (say they) that the land-owner receives only one-fourth or one-fifth of the whole produce of the land, and, in this respect, his profits often fall short of those of the more protected manufacturer. The new schemes tend to sacrifice the interest of the agriculturist to that of the manufacturer, and to give up the kingdom as a prey to foreigners. It is ridiculous to lay so much stress on

the representations of a few manufacturers, who wish to abolish all protecting duties ; they know very well that the state cannot dispense with these revenues, and must therefore retain them. Every trader and ship-owner is, in consequence of these laws, much more a monopolist than the agriculturist ; and if they, nevertheless, complain that they cannot compete with foreigners, they should first begin by living as simply and frugally as these, and not seek to aggravate the distresses of the agricultural portion of their fellow-countrymen, which are already sufficiently great. A sudden abolition of the corn laws would ruin all the farmers, and, through them the majority of the landowners ; the less productive tracts which had been cultivated at great sacrifice, would be allowed to lie waste, and thousands of usefully-employed labourers would be deprived of bread, and plunged into the greatest misery. It is quite vain to hope that they would be able to find work in towns ; at best, the increased supply of labour would depress wages, and render the distress more general. Besides, the peasant is quite unfit for a sedentary occupation ; and it would be a great misfortune, if, at last, the entire population of Great Britain were forced to cripple body and soul in manufactories.— Were the price of corn to fall by a repeal of the present law, none would be a gainer but the rich

manufacturer, inasmuch as he would in the same ratio lower the rate of wages, and compel his workmen to live as wretchedly as those of foreign countries. It is erroneous to suppose that cheap bread and high wages can ever co-exist. The manufacturer regards his workmen merely as machines, through whose agency he can get money at the smallest possible cost.

Trade and commerce have their favourable and unfavourable years; and though there has been a falling off in individual branches, yet on the whole there has been an increase. The export of cotton goods for the seven years previous to 1838 amounted to twenty millions sterling, and in 1838 to twenty-four millions sterling: hosiery, at that time £587,000, is now £650,000. In any case, the elevation and depression of trade and manufactures does not depend immediately on the corn laws; and it is fallacious to hope, that if we buy foreign grain, the foreigners would, for that reason, at once give the preference to our manufactures. Our corn laws have just as little influence on the condition and progress of ~~foreign~~ manufactures. The British merchants and manufacturers suffer more from their own cupidity, and excessive, and, naturally enough, unsuccessful speculations, than from any selfishness on the part of the agriculturist. If foreigners, by the

abolition of our corn laws, should profit so much as to be able to buy our manufactures, the inland consumption would, in that case, be diminished in equal proportion ; and this inland trade is*, undoubtedly, infinitely more important than that with foreign markets.

To maintain the independence of the country and the nation, a portion of the commercial prosperity must be sacrificed ; the protection afforded to English agriculture is to be considered as a security against a famine ; and the absurd idea of growing wheat for English bread in foreign countries is not to be entertained for a moment. Our own internal interest should always be the main object in view in regulating the corn trade, and all that relates to foreign countries be altogether of subordinate importance.

No English farmer can ever compete with the continental agriculturists, since their burdens, taxes, and expenses, are beyond all comparison less. Fluctuations in the price of corn can never be wholly avoided, and a graduated scale of duty restrains them as much as it possible. In dear seasons it is of advantage to the consumers, and in ~~cheap~~ seasons to the sellers ; it converts the evil of fluctuation into the exception, and establishes an equable and moderate price, as the general rule. A fixed duty, on

the contrary, is either too high or too low, and cannot be adhered to in seasons of dearth.

Free trade will not diminish the prices to the degree that is expected ; and should it be proposed, then all articles must come under consideration, and freedom in corn alone is not to be required with eager partiality. The ultimate effects of free trade in corn would only be to reduce the agriculture, trade, rents, capital, prices, and mode of living in England to the low state they are abroad, and depress England itself, greatly to its detriment, to a level with the Continent.

Such are the arguments on both sides. In the different decisions of the lower House*, the opponents of these laws have always been in a small minority, as 89 to 223, 95 to 300, 195 to 342, and 177 to 300. This powerful majority of the defenders of the measure arose partly from its opponents not being satisfied with a mere change, or amendment of the existing corn laws, but requiring their total and sudden abolition. This repeated decision of the majority in Parliament, however, by no means pacified the country or the people. On the contrary, the interest and zeal for and against the corn laws rather increased ; and, in a great number of writings,

* In the upper House, these proposals met with less encouragement.

their utility or their worthlessness were subjected to a more or less keen examination.

In the mean time, an essential difference of the views of those in Parliament, and out of it, became apparent. The great majority of the legislators decided in favour of the corn laws ; whereas, on the other hand, the majority of writers, and, as it would seem, of readers too, expressed themselves against them*. Unquestionably, through these controversial writings, the subject has been discussed profoundly, and in all its bearings ; and the possibility of an impartial legislation, and one salutary for all parties, has been brought about. It seems necessary to communicate, in historical order, the most essential of these progressive discussions ; and this is done in the hope that the interest of the subject itself will excuse some unavoidable repetition.

Writings for and against the Corn Laws.

In favour of the existing corn laws, and a greater or less restriction of the corn trade, are found :—

Ahspitel, Facts on the Corn Laws.

* Many of the clergy have publicly expressed themselves against the corn laws, as contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, in their grievous oppression of the poor. While their conduct has been lauded by the opponents of the corn laws as a praiseworthy exercise of the pastoral office ; these meetings are derided by the other party, and the clergy are blamed for meddling with affairs with they do not understand.

Bell, Vindication of the Rights of British Land-owners, against the Claim of the Cotton Capitalists to a Free Corn Trade.

Chartists' Opposition to Corn Laws, Monthly Chronicle, June 1841.

Dalbiac, A Few Words on the Corn Laws.

F. C. Essay on Free Trade.

Gladstone, The Repeal of the Corn Laws.

Four Letters on the Budget.

J. D. C. Address on the Corn Laws.

Holland, Letter to M'Culloch, in Answer to his Statements on the Corn Laws.

Kennedy, on the necessity of Protection to the Agriculturists.

Letter on Corn Laws, by a Practical Farmer.

Montague Gore, Thoughts on the Corn Laws.

Monthly Chronicle, June 1841.

Quarterly Review, No. 135.

Tyrconnel (Earl), an Address on the Corn Laws.

Western (Lord), the Maintenance of the Corn Laws essential to the General Prosperity of the Empire; and Letter to Lord John Russell.

Yeatman, Speech on the policy of the existing Corn Laws.

For a complete abolition of the corn laws, or an alteration of the same, are the following:—

Action of the Corn Laws, and of other Provision Laws.

Birmingham, a Letter on the Corn Laws.

Blake, the House of Lords, the People's Charter, and the Corn Laws.

The late Commercial Crisis, and the Abolition of the Corn Laws, by a Glasgow Manufacturer.

Commercial and Financial Situation of the Country.

Corn and Currency, by a Merchant.

Corn Colonies, an effectual Remedy for the Distress of the Working Classes.

The Corn Laws considered, by Common Sense.

Faro, Remedy of the Distresses of the Nation.

Fitzwilliam (Earl), on the Corn Laws.

Greg, a Letter on the Pressure of the Corn Laws and Sliding Scale.

Hearn, Oppression, or the Effects of Monopoly on Family Expenditure.

Historical Examination of the Corn Laws.

Johnson, on Increasing the Demand for Agricultural Labour.

Is Cheap or Dear Bread best for the Poor Man?

Justice to Corn Growers and to Corn Eaters.

Lefèvre, Remarks on the Present State of Agriculture.

Mackenzie, on the Importation of Foreign Corn.

Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Report on the Corn Laws.

M'Culloch, on Corn Laws.

——— Statements on Corn Laws. 2nd ed.

Moreton, Thoughts on the Corn Laws.

Noel, a Plea for the Poor, shewing how the proposed Repeal of the existing Corn Laws will affect the Interests of the Working Classes.

Papaffy, Memorandum on the Corn Duties of England.

Pennington, a Letter on the Importation of Foreign Corn.

Porter, the Effect of Restrictions on the Importation of Corn.

The Preference Interests, or the mis-called Protective Duties, shown to be Public Oppression.

Radnor, Letters on the Corn Laws.

A Religious and Moral View of the Corn Laws.

Rehny, Reflections upon the Corn Laws.

Read, Compare and Judge Facts.

Report on the Hand-loom Weavers.

Salomon, Reflections on the Operation of the present Scale of Duty for Regulation of the Importation of Foreign Corn.

Senior, Letters on the Corn Laws.

Thompson, Corn Law Fallacies.

Thornton, Historical Summary of the Corn Laws.

Thornton, the Consequences of the Repeal of the Corn Laws.

Tooke, History of Prices, with Remarks on the Corn Laws.

Torrens, Three Letters on Corn Laws.

Whitmore, Letter on the Corn Laws.

Whitmore, a Second Letter on the Corn Laws.

Whitmore, a Letter to the Agriculturists of the County of Salop.

Wickham, a Letter on the Corn Laws.

Wilson, Influences of the Corn Laws.

Westminster Review, No. 70.

Yates, a Letter on the present Depression of Trade and Manufactures:

The Many sacrificed to the Few, proved by the Effects of the Food Monopoly.

Chapman, Will cheap bread produce low wages ?

The Household Family Expense Book.

Defenders of the Corn Laws.

All the reasons which have been advanced in Parliament in defence of the existing Corn Laws, are repeated, and more minutely considered, by the writers on that side of the question. I will here

endeavour to lay before you these new discussions and additions, avoiding, as far as possible, what is simply repetition.

The agriculturist requires special protection, in order that the production of grain may be increased to such an extent, that even in case of war there should always be enough at home, and the country be independent of accidents, foreign arbitrary measures, prohibitions of exportation, &c. That these dangers are both real and great, has already been proved by the export prohibition of France, Belgium, and Naples, in the year 1839. Further, many burdens fall exclusively or principally on the agriculturist; such as the county-rates, the poor-rates, the malt-tax, the road-money, &c. against which the protective duty granted to him is only about 22 per cent., while that given to the mercantile and manufacturing classes amounts to 42 per cent., or 20 per cent. more. How ridiculous would it be, then, to make the present disadvantageous relation still more unfavourable, by means of the proposed innovations, and to enrich the cotton manufacturer still further, at the expense of the agriculturist. When the former complains that foreigners supplant and undersell him, then the innovators urge the removal of these evils and dangers; if, however, the proprietor and farmer entertain similar apprehensions on sufficient

grounds; then they are charged with selfishness, and abused in the most virulent terms, while a few swindlers in the corn-trade are intentionally confounded with the mass of respectable labourers, farmers, and landowners. If a reprehensible monopoly exist anywhere, it is more advantageous to the mercantile than to the agricultural part of the population. However highly we may estimate the value and importance of our manufactures and foreign trade, the home trade would nevertheless remain by far the more important, and agriculture would still continue the greatest English manufacture. The exportation of goods has increased, while the importation of corn decreased.

With just as little reason can the manufacturers extol their skill and advancement; the agriculturists can also boast of a similar pre-eminence, and the English bread is the best and cheapest in the world, if we take into account the value of the seed and of the labour bestowed upon it. The total value of all the exports of manufactured goods falls infinitely short of the yearly taxes of the kingdom; how can we then consider the welfare of the state to depend solely upon the manufactures, and give them exclusive protection?

While the manufacturer can repeatedly in one year lay out his capital to advantage, the landowner

can barely reckon upon a simple rent; and how small is that, in comparison with the whole value of the product of the land! Let it be assumed that the rent averages 15s. an acre, and that the amount produced is four quarters; out of the four quarters, 520 four-pound loaves at 11d. could be made. Thus the landowner receives little more than 1½d. while the greatest part goes to the miller, the baker and others, whose selfishness and excessive profit it would be well to bear in mind, before we advert to that of the landowner, farmer, and labourer. The advantage and disadvantage is for all these the same; they are all embarked for good or ill in the same vessel together.

In no country in the world are proportionably such abundant and such excellent victuals consumed as in England; and the home production is quite sufficient, in ordinary years, to satisfy all demands. Why, then, should we complain of an extravagance in price, which is either not present, or is the consequence of our wealth? A fall in the price of grain leads to the lowering of wages; and it is impossible to see how these two inseparable conditions can enable us to compete more easily with foreigners.

It is a hackneyed and visionary idea, to wish to depress all these things to the same measure and footing as on the Continent.

Low prices, produced by foreign importation, are always the precursors of high ones; while a protected home agriculture affords the best security for the continuation of a medium price. A fixed duty would lead to the following result. In dear seasons, it oppresses the consumer, or is entirely relaxed ; and in cheap seasons, even under a moderate duty, it would be impossible to introduce any foreign grain. Hence a sliding scale is the best, provided always the averages be fixed in a proper way. The scale of duty might also perhaps be improved ; or, in times of very high prices, a premium even given to importation. The purchase of foreign corn must always involve a direct loss of money, and should be guarded against as much as possible by legislation.

That the state should not interfere at all with the corn trade, but leave it perfectly free, is a fanciful idea of what is called science. A small importation would be of no use, and a great one would ruin, first the small farmers, then the larger farmers, and finally the landowner. The proposal that the English agriculturist should in future cultivate less grain, and grow more grass to raise more cattle, is impracticable ; the change could not be effected in a short time, and without embarking more capital. And as the present system appears good and natural, why should we venture on dangerous experiments in

agriculture and legislation ? With free trade, the prices become either too high or too low ; but, certainly, it would ruin English agriculture, reduce millions to destitution, and depreciate the value of land and property to such an extent, that the loss may be estimated at £600,000,000. But all these obvious results are overlooked or denied by those who, actuated with the baneful and fatal love of innovation, shun no means to arouse the passions and excite delusive hopes.

The greatness of England is founded on its present commercial laws and duties, and on the intimate connection which subsists between agriculture, manufactures, and commerce ; let this connection be destroyed, and the talisman of the wonder is broken.

Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay ;
~~Princes~~ and lords may flourish, or may fade ;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made :
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

These are the general and leading points in the arguments usually brought forward by the defenders of the Corn Laws. In this place, however, we must mention the resistance which the Chartists have opposed to any alteration of the Corn Laws. There are, say they, besides the Corn Laws, a great many other evils ; and until these are *all completely and*

simultaneously done away with, it would be unwise to allow a repeal of the Corn Laws. Among the evils to be removed, the Chartists reckon all taxes, as well as the whole of the national debt; and would not hesitate (as the above objection shows) to adopt any expedient to prepare for their subversive measures in a revolutionary way, despising milder remedies and gradual development.

Opponents of the Corn Laws.

With the greatest injustice, say these, are we charged with a desire of exciting an artificial agitation from impure motives; we aim rather to put a limit and termination to the very natural discontent upon the subject of the Corn Laws, by disentangling truth from error, and paving the way to rational changes. It is equally perverse to abolish what is useful, as to maintain what is injurious; and it is the height of folly to regard as eternal and inviolable, laws which have undergone innumerable alterations, and have always excited the loudest complaints. The Parliament, it is said, have already settled the question; and all sensible and well-disposed persons should rest satisfied with its decision. But has the decision in the least degree lessened the present evil?—has it not most dangerously directed attention

to the fact, that the mass of the people are not properly represented in Parliament? It would be better to agree to a reform of the Corn Laws, than, by retaining them, give occasion to require a reform of Parliament.

Another reproach made against us is, that, neglecting what is practical, we will only admit, as valid arguments, certain empty theories. Reason and experience do not stand, however, in irreconcilable opposition, and the so-called practical men have been sufficiently refuted by undeniable experience.

At present, both parties are in error, inasmuch as the one expects too much, and the other dreads too much, from the proposed changes in the Corn Laws. Some of the fearful estimate their loss at 600 million pounds sterling; others anticipate an equally high gain, an immense increase of the revenue, followed by an extraordinary reduction of taxes. "The landowner (observes Mr. Moreton) believes that a diminution of the duty would injure his rent, and the manufacturer believes that it would increase his profit; and although the one speaks of large loaves, and the other of the danger of becoming dependent on foreign countries, yet these are merely forms of speech: they both, indeed, think only of their own pockets."

It can be proved, however, that by the present

system of laws, not only the manufacturing, but also the agricultural, interest suffers serious loss; for this reason, to begin with (were it for no other), that what is detrimental to one portion of the community, must, indirectly, re-act on those who are ostensibly the gainers.

In the mean time, let us first consider the immediate injury which the trading classes suffer. The protecting duty, which raises the price of English grain, is, in fact, a protecting duty for the foreign manufacturers, and enables them, by degrees, to drive the English sellers out of all markets. And yet we must not forget, that agriculture could never have produced the greatness and pre-eminence of England in the whole world, and that, in manufactures, the produce of the soil is also exported.

England sold to Germany, in the year

1820....47,658,000 yards of goods.

1837....38,533,000 " "

To Prussia, 1820.... 5,442,000 yards of goods.

Now.... Nothing.

A comparison of the first five years after the peace, with the last five years, shows an average diminution of the exports of 20 per cent.* It is a

* The ostensible increase was the result of overstrained speculations, which terminated in disappointments; or the exports were paid for with English money, which we had needlessly lent to the natives of America, and the Pyrenean peninsula.

poor consolation that your iron, coal, and other raw materials, have been exported to a greater amount than before ; for this serves only to encourage the growth of foreign manufactures.

Yet hardware, gloves, stockings, &c. are bought cheaper by English merchants abroad than at home, and then exported to all countries, instead of home manufactures. While all this is passing, while the German commercial league grows daily in power and wealth, Englishmen still cling to their old prejudices, and do not become wise through their losses. In consequence of their laws, the operatives on the Continent are compelled to work for low wages, and to live poorly ; and, in England, things have been brought to such a pass, that the operative is famished, even with high wages. Englishmen are separating themselves from the Germans, their natural friends, and their best and surest allies, and are foolishly seeking, in distant quarters of the globe, a miserable substitute for this greater loss.

High prices of grain do not, by any means, produce a greater demand for work ; nor do they, unconditionally and exclusively, regulate the amount of wages, any more than wages regulate the price of corn. In the same way, the high or low price of the manufacture does not depend on wages alone, but is influenced by many other causes. Hence, while

the price of goods is falling, the profits may be increased by more skilful and economical manufacture ; and the same is applicable to the products of agriculture.

In no other country in the world is the price and rent of land so high as in England ; and this arises chiefly from the amount and extent of trade and manufactures ; these furnish employment to three-fourths, and agriculture to only one-fourth, of the whole population : and the monopolists must be convinced, that the prosperity of the few ought not to depend on the loss of the many. Universal advancement would ultimately prove profitable, even to them ; and if selfishness, combined with error, have for some time perverted justice, yet this by no means gives any right to persist in the wrong, for the future. Artificial Corn Laws can by no means permanently ensure high rents. In time of low prices, and in cases of failure of the crops, the land-owner must grant an abatement to the farmer.

A better system would be profitable to the farmer, by the establishment of equitable prices ; the amount of improvements in agriculture would not diminish, but increase ; and the natural home monopoly of pasture and the breeding of cattle, for which, from the increased population, there will be a greater demand, will more than compensate for the

loss which they apprehend. The price of grain, in England, does not depend chiefly upon the amount of importation, but upon many other modifying contingencies; for example, on good and bad harvests, on war or peace, on the state of trade, and the money market, facility or difficulty of conveyance, population, capital, progress in agriculture, &c. &c. It has sunk 41 per cent. under that sum which was before considered necessary for the support of the agriculturist, and averages much more than is required for the good of the consumer. Again, the prosperity of a people does not depend upon the price of grain alone: let any one compare, in this respect, the price of wheat, and the condition of the inhabitants, in England and Ireland. The former remains nearly equal, and the latter is subject to endless fluctuation. The present law has not been able to prevent a variation of 126 per cent. in the price; and with this a complete irregularity of supply is necessarily connected. And yet it is only by a regular demand that it is possible to obtain a cheap and uniform supply.

In the year 1838, England received (not to mention other kinds of grain), of wheat, from

	Quarters.
Prussia	586,000
Germany	350,000

	Quarters.
Denmark	133,000
Holland	82,000
France	60,000
Russia	41,000
Italy	31,000
Guernsey	24,000
Belgium	18,000
Malta.....	11,000
United States	6,000
Ionian Islands	5,000
East Indies	5,000
Turkey	3,000
Egypt.....	811
Spain.....	421
Gibraltar	57
Portugal	15

The smallest importation since 1828, was in the year 1835, and the greatest in the year 1839: the former amounted to 66,000 quarters, and the latter to 2,875,000* quarters. This is alone sufficient to

* The numbers do not correspond in all the statements and calculations. According to an official return, there were imported into England from 1828 to 1841:—

At a duty of	Quarters of Wheat.	Cwt. of Flour.
1s. 0d. per quarter	3,907,000	1,276,000
2 8 , ,	2,788,000	835,000
6 8 , ,	1,994,000	518,000
10 8 , ,	783,000	238,000

show that no law can secure uniform supply, and still less regulate the prices. The present tariff, which prescribes a high duty when the price is low, and a low duty when the price is high, *appears an infallible means of maintaining uniform prices*; and yet this means has failed completely.

We will here direct attention to a few facts, in addition to the reasons already stated. The delusive prospect of higher prices produced an excessive cultivation of wheat; the result of this excess was a fall in the prices; and the low prices again, in their turn, produced a diminution of the cultivation of grain. The English agriculturist is always the losing, but the foreign agriculturist is not always the gaining, party; for the profits fall almost entirely into the hands of the speculators in grain, who regard the corn trade as a game of chance or lottery. From July 1828, to January 1840, 9,301,000 quarters have been imported into England. Of this quantity, a very small proportion was sold when the price of the quarter was 63s.; nearly all the rest was not brought into the market till the price had reached the height of 70s. or even 73s., and the

At a duty of &c. &c. at 22s. 8d. only	Quarters of Wheat.	Cwt. Flour.
	13,664	5,940
In the year 1840 were imported	2,432,000 quarters.	
From 1820 — 1830	9,413,000	,
, 1830 — 1840	14,953,000	,
From the 5 Sept. to 5 Oct. 1841,	2,014,030	,

duty had sunk to its lowest point. The prospects of enormous gains stimulated the speculators; the possibility of enormous losses must, on the other hand, deter the cautious merchant. We may give an example illustrative of this:—

A merchant knows that the price of the quarter of corn in England is..... 72s.

The duty amounts then to.... 2s. 8d.

Add foreign wheat costs..... 64 4

Total 67 0

This affords the *prospect* of a profit of 5s. per quarter.

Let us suppose, however, the English price falls in the mean time to 62s.

The duty is then 24s. 8d.

Add the purchase price.... 64 4

Total 89 0

—or a *loss* of 27s. a quarter, instead of 5s. gained.

Consequently, instead of a fluctuation in the English price, to the amount of 10s. a quarter, a much greater one is (artificially) produced for the merchant; which, as we have said before, makes regular trade impossible.

Take a second example:—It may be possible to bring corn to London for 40s. per quarter;

At the English price of 66s. the duty 20s. 8d.—60s. 8d.—prospect of a profit of 5s. 4d., at 66s. But if the corn-dealer wait until the price has risen from 66s. to 73s., he gains,—by the higher price, 7s.; and by difference of duty, 19s. 8d. He has now a profit of £1 6s. 8d.

This possibility of enormous gains excites an irresistible tendency to hoard up grain, as is proved by the following instances. On the 6th of September, 1838, the duty was 2s. 8d. a quarter, and 28,000 quarters imported and taken out of bonded warehouses; on the 13th of September, the duty reached its lowest point of one shilling, and 1,261,000 quarters were imported; on the 20th of September, the duty was again 2s. 8d., and 102,000 quarters were imported; and on the 27th September, it reached 10s. 8d., and 47,000 quarters were imported. Under a system, by which the difference of 2d. in the fixing of the average price causes a variation in the ~~duty~~ to the amount of 4s., on which the gain or loss of millions of pounds depends; is it possible to prevent intrigues, fictitious sales, and deceit of every kind? Yet all this, at last, must be borne and paid for by the poor unfortunate consumer!

If the duties on corn are not to be altogether abolished (as science* demands), yet a moderate fixed duty is, for innumerable reasons, preferable to the sliding scale. It makes a regular supply possible, *and renders the deceitful fixing of the price unnecessary*; it reduces the prices, puts the corn trade into the hands of respectable merchants, removes the dread of foreign prohibitions of export, does not in any way derange the money market, and, in the extraordinary event of total failure of crops, the case can be adjusted by the wisdom of the legislature. By means of free trade, the whole world is thrown open to the English, from their maritime supremacy, and they never can want a supply. London becomes the centre of the whole corn trade of the world, and through the all-powerful nature of things, the prices fix themselves at an incomparably lower rate than under the present deceitful and artificial system.

The instructive results furnished by the trade in wool, would be likewise afforded by the corn trade. The reduction of the duty increased the importation; but, at the same time, the cloth manufacture extended to such an extraordinary degree, that, contrary to all expectation, the price of English wool rose to *double its former amount*.

* What science?—The author probably means the science of political economy.—T.

England possesses such an infinite number of natural and acquired advantages and powers, that, by their means, she can reach a much higher point than she has hitherto attained, in agriculture, manufactures, and home and foreign commerce, whenever the fetters are removed, and those restrictive laws abolished, which have checked and retarded the development of her resources, instead of having been (as is falsely asserted) the foundation of her greatness.

If the path which science and experience distinctly point out as the only safe one, be not followed ; first, commerce and manufactures, then agriculture, fall to the ground, and too late will the attempt be made to recall again to England those advantages which she has almost forced upon foreign countries.

Reflections and Results.

After having laid before you the substance of the various writings and parliamentary debates on the subject, as concisely and faithfully as possible, I would willingly have closed this report ; for I am well aware that the judgment of a single individual on the English Corn Laws, and that individual a foreigner, can have little influence in contests of this kind, and will but expose him to the censure of all parties. On the other hand, I have the desire, and feel how necessary it is, once more to weigh the opposing arguments, to

elucidate what is dark and doubtful, and enable myself, at least, to come to a decision on the question. The well-known measures of the ministry have, at length, directed attention to the whole subject, in a new and striking light, and I cannot pass it over in silence.

In the first place, the ministry have been censured for their late proceedings, and are charged with having agitated the question against their own better convictions, merely to excite the passions of the people ; and most wickedly to have hazarded the peace and concord of the land, merely to obtain a little respite from relinquishment of office and pension.

To this charge I cannot subscribe. The corn question has been agitated for years, and its importance has increased with each succeeding year ; the government could no longer pass it over, but were compelled to interfere actively, and take the direction of it into their own hands*. Further, the objection, that the recent proposals of the ministry stand in contradiction with their former open declarations, has with me little weight : as I have found, by personal experience, without reference to office and pension,

* So far back as 1839, Lord Melbourne declared the corn laws to be an open question, and that he would not pledge himself to maintain the existing regulations. Lord John Russell spoke to the same effect —Annual Register, 1839, p. 10, 21.

that I have been obliged to alter and renounce many opinions ; nay, even what I considered to be well-grounded convictions on this subject. The experience of to-day gives us wisdom for the morrow ; and it is a merit not to persist, from obstinacy, in opposing the advance of truth. It is only by unavoidable discussion and rational legislation, that the passions can be calmed, and a greater unanimity among different ranks and interests can be created.

In spite of individual warning voices, the different parties still expect and fear too much : an alteration of the corn laws would neither cheapen bread in any considerable degree ; nor ruin the agriculturist ; nor bring an enormous profit to the Continent ; nor increase very much the export of English goods ; nor affect the revenues of the state ; nor produce any considerable rise or depression in wages.

Why not let the old system stand ? some one may urge, in opposition, since all the hopes and fears on the subject are exaggerated. There are many other grievances existing, and many other great advantages attainable ; the former of which cannot be redressed, and the latter of which cannot be secured, by the present legislation.

By considering the subject in every point of view, the opinions and convictions upon it have already, in spite of appearances to the contrary, approximated :

many errors have been dispelled, and many truths acknowledged. The few individuals, who, to gratify their own blind passions, or to rouse the passions of others, represent the landowners as robbers and murderers, only bring disgrace upon themselves, as well as those who speak of the people as millions of rabble, who assume the tone of manufacturers, and pretend to the right of taking a leading part*. All unprejudiced persons concur that it would be dangerous to put confidence in an unscientific and isolated experiment, and infatuation to act upon abstract dogmas, without reference to prevailing relations. All admit that legislation must keep the welfare of all parties equally in view, and not sacrifice the interest of one body to that of another.

Nobody denies that it would be better to make improvements and changes with caution, than rashly to break in upon the existing state of things ; that it would be more expedient to advance steadily, than to attempt to make more rapid progress by artificial leaps. How can we despair of an intelligent and salutary agreement, when so much has already been

* This was actually the language of a member of the lower House. The Standard, of the 5th of June, declares that England would be as great and powerful, and every efficient Englishman as rich as at present, if all the manufacturing towns and counties of Great Britain were ingulphed in one ruin—and this is called a defence of the agricultural interests !

done towards it? Unsatisfactory grounds for demanding the repeal of the corn laws, and the still more untenable one on which they have been defended, are losing daily in weight, and there remain only some individual questions and measures for further mature deliberation. Permit me to bring these once more before your notice, and discuss them calmly.

The expressions of the opposed parties:—We wish the corn laws altered; we wish the corn laws not altered; we vote for a fixed, we vote for a varying duty; as empty generalities, mean nothing. The speakers reject all examination, and take their position as if the question were already settled.

The laws regarding taxation and duties demand, more than any others, a regularly repeated investigation; for it is utterly impossible that, with the continually changing relations of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, of one country to another, these laws can remain equally applicable for any considerable period. A fixed, as well as a sliding scale of duties, may be equivalent either to a perfectly free trade or an unconditional prohibition; on which account, it is necessary, before expressing an approval of either one or other, to fix the rate at which they are to be regulated.

For this reason, a great mass of statistical infor-

mation has been collected with the greatest diligence. This has often been useful, but often also injurious to truth ; for it is easy to contend against general statements and principles ; whereas a row of figures seems to offer mathematical certainty, and to make any objections appear absurd. And yet these figures are often an arsenal of errors and fallacious conclusions. I give here examples to the point.

The average prices on the Continent and in England have been compared ; and it has been said, that there, where no sliding scale exists, the prices are subject to as great a fluctuation. But if the bushel of wheat in Danzig and Madgeburg cost, in the year 1836, 43 silver groschens, and in the year 1839, $75\frac{1}{2}$ to $77\frac{1}{4}$, this variation stands in the closest connexion with the English corn law.

The average prices of the Continent are, it is alleged, so much per cent. less than those of England ; and consequently, were a change made in the corn laws, England would be inundated with amazingly cheap wheat. This all appears mathematically certain ; and yet it is forgotten that, at present, there is not on the Continent any large store ready for regular annual exportation ; that the soil, without application of very considerable capital, is not available for a more extensive growth of wheat ; that such a change in agriculture (even if there was capital at

band) would require much time, and could only take place gradually ; that each would expect interest for the capital he laid out ; that the transport of the grain from remote districts to a navigable river would cost much money. In one word, increased demand would raise the price of wheat ; and all conclusions deduced from the present averages in England and the Continent, and applied to the future, are falacious*.

In a similar manner, the protecting duties for English agriculture have been contrasted and compared with those for English manufactures ; and anything apparently more favourable for the one than the other has been carefully sought out. But the enormous export of English manufactures does not by any means depend on the present protecting duties ; nor can the protective duties for the farmer be said to exist in plentiful years ; and no one can say how the advantages of favourable weather and extensive demand, or the disadvantages of unfavourable seasons and commercial crises, ought to be estimated. The protecting duties, says one, with mathematical certainty, are 20 per cent. higher for the

* The apprehension (Blackwood's Edinburgh Mag. No. ccxi, p. 400,) that the increased demand in England will tend greatly to reduce the prices on the Continent, because more wheat will be grown than there is a demand for, may well be called *curae posteriores*.

manufacturer than the agriculturist; whilst a second holds just the reverse for demonstrable, and already demonstrated. But, in such calculations of averages, all articles, both of large and small consumption, with their rates of duty, are added up together, or rather thrown together pell-mell; and opposite the protective duty on wheat, are put into the balance the protective duty on paper and glass at 75 per cent.—on candles and soap at 95 per cent.—on gold and silver plate at 100 per cent.—and that on cards at 130 per cent.

It would be easy to expose similar partiality and precipitation in the calculations of corn averages, from 150 different great and small towns in England; and we must call to mind that these averages have been taken only from the nominal selling prices, without adverting to the likewise influential purchase prices.

The assertion that is most peremptorily and loudly made, and one on which the greatest stress is laid, is, that England, with its overwhelming debt and taxes and high wages, never could stand the competition of foreign agriculture, and would be ruined.

The first question that must here occur to every one, is, how have the English manufacturers hitherto withstood foreign competition, and how has their amount of export so astonishingly increased? The

advantages enjoyed by the English manufacturer are common to the agriculturists: viz. capital, diligence, intelligence, &c. and, paradoxical as it may sound, I assert that the English farmer can raise his produce, and the manufacturer fabricate his articles of commerce, taking every thing into account, just as cheaply as the foreign farmer or manufacturer, provided we do not seek to negative their last result by fallacious comparisons of isolated facts, and apparently infallible arithmetical figures.

Wages in England, it is said (for instance), are higher than those on the Continent; but to produce the same amount of wheat, to bring the soil into proper condition, to transport the produce to market, the Englishman requires less time, fewer hands, and fewer horses and buildings; and an English labourer performs more in one day, than the constrained vassal in a week*. Moreover, in almost every country in Europe, the land and soil are subject to a proportionally much higher tax than in England, which is almost entirely free from a proper land tax.

* It is not intended to imply that he possesses greater physical strength; but that a given number of English labourers, with the required soil, roads, carts, machines, capital, food, clothing, application and energy, will produce an infinitely greater quantity of corn, hay, potatoes, carrots, &c. than the same number of vassals in countries which are destitute of these resources. Lord Western expresses himself to the same effect in reference to Ireland.

Such a comparison, however, of the burdens of one country with those of another, is attended with the greatest difficulty. Who, for example, bears the heaviest burden; the Englishman, who pays toll for excellent roads, or the Pole, who is free from that burden, but requires ten times as much time and animal labour to transport an equal quantity of grain to market? Or, how can we estimate the heavy Prussian taxes, the mill, meat, salt, and class duties? or the indispensable protracted military service on the Continent—or the frequent destruction of crops and agricultural stock by wars? Nor should the English national debt, this “bug-bear,” terrify the unprejudiced and courageous; for the English are their own creditors, and what one pays as taxes, the other receives as interest! or the very same person pays the money out of one pocket and puts it into the other.

It would not be a hazardous speculation to offer to take upon oneself the whole of the English national debt, if at the same time all the ways and means of liquidating it, and paying the interest, were given along with it. High prices, high wages, and even the debt, arise solely from the wealth of England, and their existence were otherwise impossible and inconceivable; and in spite of all the complaints and grumbling about this state of things, no Englishman would

in earnest wish to change places with the labourers, farmers, and landowners in foreign countries, where wages and taxes are low. These are, in truth, not lower; but, all things taken into account, much higher,—which is sufficiently obvious, from the fact, that, on an average, the English are better fed, clothed, and lodged, and have in the end more money over and above, than the foreigner, who is only in appearance, and for party purposes has been represented as better off.

Were it true, that a country burdened with heavy debts and taxes could not make head against a country where the debts and taxes were less, then the richest countries and nations would be the worst adapted for trade and manufactures, while the poorer ones, from their very poverty, would take the lead; and, in accordance with this, *England must renounce intercourse with all countries in the world.* Were it true, that the much-lauded system of exclusion and monopoly surpassed every other in wisdom and utility, then *all nations must equally adhere to it;* a perpetual, irrational, unchristian, commercial war, would put an end to all the higher and more general social principles. It would be but for a time that Great Britain might, perhaps, derive profit from such arrangements; it is through a combination of innumerable other most favourable circumstances (and by

no means from an adherence to these same duties and corn-laws), that she has attained her present greatness. But a man requires different treatment from a child. Surrounding nations are now emerging from their years of childhood. Germany, and Prussia in particular, have been the first, with much boldness and success, to adopt a freer system of commerce.

Theoretical and practical men can no longer, either from false pride, or short-sighted selfishness, overlook this successful experiment, undertaken on a large scale; even England has been influenced by it in her maritime and commercial treaties; and by an alteration of her duties, she will diminish the danger, not only of being entirely excluded from the German market, but of being much limited in her dealings with other markets. The German friends of monopoly have, indeed, taken advantage of the new commercial treaty, to raise a loud cry, responsive to that in England; but they have been refuted by those who have attained more solid and independent views of the subject.

Free trade can, no more than civil and religious liberty, work sudden miracles; but it smooths the way, breaks the bonds that have been imposed, and is the surest guarantee for the continuance of peace.

These results are superior, and extend infinitely beyond what is generally first of all and chiefly aimed at—namely, a provisional rise or fall of certain prices.

Free trade, by increasing the powers and energies of mankind, must increase riches everywhere. Such an advance is quite compatible with the maintenance of the security and independence of the country ; a rectified tariff would not destroy, but, on the contrary, strengthen, the maritime influence of England ; it would ensure her independence of foreign supplies, by making them more regular, uniform, and cheap ; and quiet all apprehensions of prohibition on exportations on the part of foreign countries.

No English ministry will be able to keep up the present system of duties unaltered for any considerable period ; all will be obliged to lend a helping hand towards amelioration. On the other hand, a sudden abolition of the duties on corn is, with the present relations and opinions, quite impossible ; consequently, the consideration of the question concentrates itself in these points : whether a varying or a fixed duty deserves the preference ? I long regarded the sliding scale as a masterpiece of human ingenuity ; and it was only weighty reasons and incontrovertible facts that were able to shake this conviction. Yet, as early as 1835, I expressed opinions, in

my work on England, which have since then been confirmed by numerous testimonials and extensive experience.

A simple reduction of the varying duties abates the evil without removing it ; there remain, the uncertainty of the traffic ; the temptation to turn trade into a game of chance ; the hoarding up till the duty reaches its lowest point ; the danger to the farmer of seeing high prices suddenly and excessively depressed*. Without repetition of what has been already advanced on this subject, I turn to the question of the amount of a fixed duty.

The expense of producing and transporting grain differs, not only in every country, but in every indi-

* Even the *Times*, which had hitherto been the opponent of ministers and their projects, declared, on the 19th of August, that they were, on the whole, opposed to restricted corn laws ; that it was clear that the present sliding scale had had an injurious tendency, and furnished facilities for the most scandalous frauds, the extent of which it is a shame even to think of.

The very boldness and extent of these frauds has led to their success ; however disagreeable the confession may be, we do not believe that the sagacity of any statesman will he able to discover a plan, which can effectually defeat the artful and experienced speculator ; and we are, therefore, sorry to see it hinted, that it is intended to retain what we consider to be incurable and inefficacious.

If some German landowners fancy that they derive greater advantages from the present system, their mistake arises, first from thinking more of themselves than of the German native purchasers of corn ; and secondly, because they are more attracted by a sudden, unexpected gain, than by a steady and sure profit.

vidual locality ; yet no one would wish, on this account, to introduce innumerable differential duties, but rather to discover a general, mean rate of taxation. The mode of proceeding observed, and generally considered infallible, consists in a comparison of home and foreign averages ; and, if the former be lower, a protective duty, grounded upon this, is proposed. But this suggests the following considerations.

1. The averages of the past afford, when there is a change in the demand, no rule or guarantee for the future. If England, for example, should, for the future, import more grain from the Continent, its price will infallibly rise, and the duty grounded upon the *old* average will undoubtedly turn out too high.

2. Such must be the case if the protective duty be fixed with special reference to the inferior English soils.

3. Even the general averages of England themselves afford no safe rule. Formerly it was considered that an average price of eighty or more shillings a quarter, was, in every case, necessary for the support of the agriculturist ; and this average, in spite of the sliding scale, has fallen to about fifty-two shillings. What, if the manufacturers had wished, before the invention of machinery, to calculate and fix their protective duties according to the old price of production ? In the same manner, these are

grounds for a dearer and cheaper system of agricultural labour.

Competent judges assert, that a protective duty of eight shillings, according to Lord John Russell's proposal, would maintain the present average prices in England. Let it be assumed, without paying attention to easily-refuted objections, that this is the proper amount: then the Englishman enjoys, when the expense of carriage and moderate profits of trade are added, a protective duty of about twenty-six shillings against the Continent. Those who assert that the profit and freight are here estimated *too high*, must be again reminded, that, on the other hand, the future price of foreign grain is fixed *too low*. In a similar way, the accurate demonstration of Mr. Papaffy shows, that, with this rate of duty, the wheat shipped from the Mediterranean and Black Sea could not be sold in England under sixty shillings.

While many persons, nevertheless, look upon an eight shilling duty as too low, one author has asserted it is too high; for 9,299,000 quarters of imported grain would, at the present rates, have paid, on an average, only five shillings and nine pence, or altogether, £2,670,000; but, at eight shillings, must have paid £3,719,000. This apparently undeniable, mathematical, and statistical truth, is immediately made use of by others, to prove that this would

amount to a most oppressive and unreasonable taxation of the people. In fact, however, this calculation only affords a new proof how much we should be on our guard against assuming isolated facts and figures as infallible, and proceeding to draw general conclusions from them. For, even admitting that it is not only the average of the duties that has been calculated, but that there has also been taken into account (as is absolutely necessary) the great or small amount of the quantity of grain imported at each rate of duty; yet the five shillings and nine pence is *only the smallest part of the tax* that the English people must pay. A far greater sum lies in the price of the wheat which has been hoarded up till the prices have become exorbitantly high. The speculator pockets the duty, which, in consequence of the sliding scale, has been lost to the revenue; laughs at those who fix the averages; and extols the mildness and wisdom of the present regulations*.

Whence comes it (this is a very important question) that in Prussia the mill and meat tax, so profitable to the state, have been raised, or their place supplied, by a class-tax, without producing any com-

* The sudden glut^Y of foreign grain in the English market in September, 1841, has, no doubt, convinced many English farmers, who happened to have but a small stock for sale, of the advantage of a regular corn trade, at fixed duties.

plaint; while France, and England, where those taxes are unknown, nevertheless, raise the loudest complaints and remonstrances against the high price of bread and meat? Evidently, because these Prussian duties are lost in the natural rise and fall of the price, as trifling; and there exists no artificial pernicious monopoly in favour of agriculturists and cattle breeders. Free trade in corn and cattle places every thing in a natural, equitable, and suitable relation, and enables the Prussian government to raise a large revenue; while England and France make over to arbitrarily favoured individuals much more than those taxes yield*.

I have just received the recent speech of Sir Robert Peel at Tamworth. He asserted, with perfect truth, that the English trade was not in such a hopeless condition; and that every momentary depression was not to be ascribed to the corn laws. This does not justify these laws in themselves. Indeed, Sir Robert Peel said very truly, in May, 1841, that it might be salutary, during a prosperous, as well as during a depressed state of trade, to abolish restrictive regulations. The assertion that protective duties

* Mr. Hearn seeks to prove that twelve families, of sixty-nine persons, whose annual expenditure is £863, pay £351 in taxes, of which the state receives £49; the monopolists, £302; viz. the landowners and farmers, £281; persons connected with the colonies, £21.

on corn are necessary, because poor-rates have to be paid, may be met by this : that the poor-rates are made necessary and increased by these duties. Besides, the amount of protective duty stands in no fair and fixed relation to the poor rates.

Sir Robert Peel observes further, in cheap years you would be inundated with foreign corn, while in years of scarcity it would be impossible to levy a tax of 8s. a quarter ; and if it be once abolished, who will or can again lay on the tax ?

Although these things have been already circumstantially discussed, yet I take the liberty, in reference to what has been said, again to remark.

1st. Even if the same years should be abundant in England and on the Continent, it is not to be understood why the foreign agriculturist (who has always the protective duty and freight charge to bear) should send so much wheat to England, exactly at the time when the prices were lowest there.

2nd. By free trade and regular agriculture at home and abroad, the danger of famine is diminished in an extraordinary degree ; but should this very rare case occur, then the law must be abolished, and some expedient be devised to meet this very unusual state of things.

3rd. As it is, the duty likewise ceases to exist, when the price is high, by the present arrangement :

and inasmuch as the power of the government has, with falling prices, brought about a gradual and extraordinary increase of taxes, it will also be easy for it, after removing the danger of a famine, to lay on again any fixed rate of duty. The proposals of some writers to introduce drawbacks, import and export bounties, and the like, are quite isolated measures, and would certainly lead to new difficulties. It, therefore, seems to me to be unnecessary to add to the length of this already lengthy essay, by entering into the investigation of them.

We may, however, rejoice, that our country knows nothing of corn laws and differential duties, and that in this natural state we are spared all the complaints and opposition which agitate England, in consequence of its artificial condition. I do not entertain a doubt that this artificial state will soon be converted into a more natural system; and whatever tends to the advantage and good of England, must eventually, also, prove beneficial to her confederates in blood and alliance—the people of Germany."

* Postscript.—By way of comic-poetic appendix, I subjoin a poem, by Thomas Moore, *Cotton and Corn*, and the fragment of another, *Corn and Catholics*:

COTTON AND CORN,

A DIALOGUE.

Moore's Works, viii, 201.

Said Cotton to Corn, t'other day,
 As they met and exchang'd a salute,
 (Squire Corn, in his carriage, so gay ;
 Poor Cotton, half famish'd, on foot) :

“ Great Squire, if it isn't uncivil
 To hint at starvation before you,
 Look down on a poor hungry devil,
 And give him some bread, I implore you !

Quoth Corn then, in answer to Cotton,
 Perceiving he meant to make free,
 “ Low fellow, you've surely forgotten
 The distance between you and me !

To expect that we, peers of high birth,
 Should waste our illustrious acres,
 For no other purpose on earth
 Than to fatten curst calico-makers !

That bishops to bobbins shoud bend,
 Shoud stoop from their bench's sublimity,
 Great dealers in lawn to befriend,
 Such contemptible dealers in dimity !

No ! vile manufacturer ; ne'er barbour
 A hope to be fed at our boards ;
 Base offspring of Arkwright, the barber,
 What claim canst thou have upon lords ?

No ! thanks to the taxes and debt,
 And the triumph of paper o'er guineas,
 Our race of Lord Jemmys, as yet,
 May defy your whole rabble of Jennys !”

So saying—whip, crack, and away
 Went Corn, in his chaise, through the throng ;
 So headlong, I heard them all say,
 “ Squire Corn would be down, before long.”

CORN AND CATHOLICS.

Page 218.

What ! Still those infernal questions,
 That with our meals, our slumbers mix ;
 That spoil our tempers and digestions ;
 Eternal Corn and Catholics.

↓ Gods ! were there ever two such bores ?
 Nothing else talk'd of, night or morn :
 Nothing, in doors or out of doors,
 But endless Catholics and Corn !

So addled in my cranium, meet
 Popery and Corn, that oft I doubt,
 Whether, this year, 'twas bonded wheat,
 Or bonded Papists, they let out, &c. &c.

LETTER XXIX.

Noble-minded Statesmen—Change of Ministry—Conduet of the Whigs
— Parliamentary Elections — Majority and Minority — the new
Ministry—the further progress of England.

London, September 10, 1841.

WHEN I look back upon the series of my letters upon England, I cannot conceal from myself that many instructive and important subjects have been not at all noticed, or at least not fully developed. On the other hand, it was never my intention, nor indeed can it reasonably be the intention of any one individual, to speak on every subject without due knowledge of it. Every one will select what he understands, or at least what pleases him ; and this permission I claim for myself at the close, as at the commencement, of my communications.. I have, however, endeavoured to range the subjects I had chosen in suitable order, and thus to make the most recent occurrences and state of things intelligible. Arrogant, coarse, dictatorial judgments, in praise or blame of individual persons, parties, systems, &c. are heard and read in England every day ; but they have lost almost all their effect by constant repetition, and have by no

means a general or extensive influence on elevation of sentiment or delicacy of feeling.

The historian is but too often compelled to give an account of fruitless struggles, and violent excitement of passion ; and he may, therefore, esteem himself doubly happy when they subside, if but for a moment, into a cheering calm, and when truth breaks through every cloud, and entire justice is done, even to an adversary. In this noble spirit, the Duke of Wellington declared, that he had always been of opinion that Lord Melbourne had rendered the greatest possible service to the Queen, since he had not only directed public affairs as a minister, but had likewise made his youthful sovereign acquainted with the laws and customs of the country, the mode of government, and the constitution.

On the day on which he retired from the ministry, Lord John Russell said, he had acted according to the best of his knowlenge and conscience, and would so act in future ; consequently would not make any factious opposition to the government. He hoped that in all future relations no personal acrimony, would be mingled ; and if the resignation of himself and his colleagues should contribute to the happiness or welfare of the country, he should always look back with particular satisfaction to the day which relieved him from responsibility.

Lord Stanley replied, in his own name and that of his party, that no personal animosity was felt. "I give the noble lord," he continued, "full credit that he has been influenced by no other consideration than a sense of his duty, which, in a man of such high honour, predominates over every other feeling. Nobody can have considered, with any other sentiment than that of admiration, the distinguished zeal, the perseverance, the ability and talent, with which the noble lord both fulfilled the immediate and peculiar duties of his own office, and directed the public business in this house, and every where performed his great and difficult task. On this side of the house, there is no other feeling towards him, than that of respect for his character and admiration of his talents. I repeat, that I am fully convinced that he and his colleagues, in the course of their administration, adopted all measures, and only such as they held to be advantageous to the welfare of the country."

After these testimonies, this noble, amiable, touching conduct, it would be not only superfluous, but unjust and disgusting, even to mention all the violent accusations and bitter calumnies uttered in other places. Yet it is advantageous to inquire into, and bring together, the serious and real reasons of the late events and ministerial changes. If we consider the important subjects discussed in my preceding letters, and the

difficulties which appeared on every side, we may rather wonder that the Whig ministry kept its ground so long, than that it has retired. In fact, all its political adversaries prophesied, from the very beginning, a much shorter duration ; they had formed much too low an estimate, especially of Lord Palmerston's manly energy and Lord John Russell's knowledge, mildness, activity, and nobleness of character.

In the sequel, the Whig ministry had much more reason to complain of its pretended friends, than of its open opponents. Instead of confidentially following their leaders, or firmly and simultaneously supporting their great object, and suppressing their individual opinions, many, from false scruples of conscience, or blameable vanity, stood upon their own weak legs, required that every immature or impracticable notion should be attended to, lost sight of the whole, for the sake of some secondary part, looked upon themselves, not as subordinate combatants, but as extraordinary generals, and by this and similar proceedings, led to the ruin of themselves and their party. Both in and out of Parliament there was the same negligent security, and want of co-operation (for instance, in making out the lists of electors*),

* They were never complete, and the officers employed in drawing them up were, for the most part, friends to the Tories.

while the Tories laid aside, for the present, all the important discussions and differences which existed likewise among them, and acted as a compact phalanx to attain the one great object of victory.

If we look to this object, if we regard it as the most important, the greatest, and most necessary, it appears very natural that they would not enter upon an exposition of their principles of war, or of their future intentions, when they should be in peaceable possession of the administration ; in a word, that they had more confidence in themselves than in their opponents. If reasons were as plentiful as blackberries, they cannot be extorted by force from the stronger party. Whether the Tories (taught by subsequent experience) approved the measures of the Whigs, which they formerly opposed,—whether they had themselves co-operated in many of them,—whether they would in future do the same again,—all this, which must appear very important to their adversaries, and to which they endeavoured to give importance, was not at all regarded by the Tories ; all these light skirmishes did not induce them to make the smallest change in their fixed plan of battle ; and they have conquered. This was their chief object, and it is the chief.

This consideration explains in a great measure

the conduct of the victors ; but the question must be again put and answered, why, in the new Parliamentary elections, the country declared for them, and not for their adversaries ?

The English are not so inclined to changes as the French ; yet when a party has been long at the helm, a wish arises, in many persons, that the representation and the ministry may assume a different face ; and with this wish is combined the often deceitful hope, that such a change of persons or forms will easily do away with a number of prevalent, often incurable, evils.

The Whigs*, as I have observed on a former occasion, have often carried great measures in extraordinary times ; but, for the most part, have been obliged to leave the direction of affairs in the ordinary course of things for a long time to the Tories. The benefit of many laws passed by them (for instance, the poor-law) are less acknowledged since the disappearance of old abuses ; and plans of further changes are not popular. Though the Whigs most decidedly opposed many of these plans (for instance, annual Parliaments and universal suffrage), many people think that there is more to be feared from their connexion with the radicals than from the Tories. And yet even the Times justly observes,* that Lord John Russell (whom, on this occasion, it calls a personally honour-

able, thoroughly well-meaning man) is much nearer to Sir Robert Peel, than to Mr. Roebuck.

The repeatedly expressed opinion, that Lord John Russell and his friends should have entirely united with the Tories, or with the Radicals, is but saying, in other words, that they ought to have renounced their convictions and their exertions, with respect to main objects, and as directing ministers, to have promoted plans which would have decided, on a grand scale, on the fate of the country ; and, according to their own persuasion, have decided to its injury. Such a dereliction of themselves, and of what they believed to be truth, is a very different thing from the mild, conciliatory spirit of concession, which Lord John Russell so often manifested in subordinate matters, and for which he has been reproached by half friends and censorious enemies.

We shall obtain more, say some, from the Tories than from the Whigs. We shall put an end to the difference with the House of Lords; and, after things have gone on long enough in one course, turn them advantageously into another. The future opposition is our security that we shall not go backwards. Besides, the leaders cannot (because their position is altered) renounce their former principles, and molest the government, from mere party spirit.

Besides all actual and personal reasons (the latter of which I hesitate to dilate upon), the forms of Parliamentary election had undoubtedly much influence. The country, it is said, has decided against the Whigs. Without repeating the objections of the Chartist, or advocating the proposal to distribute all political rights according to numerical proportion, it remains to be observed, in the first place, that the preponderance of the great landowners has been essentially increased by giving the elective franchise to their tenants, or by the Chandos clause in the Reform Bill*. Secondly, the landed interest obtains a greater influence by the circumstance that, in the country, for the most part, forty-shilling freeholders, and, in the cities, chiefly the ten-pound householders, have the elective franchise. In this state of things, and with the opinions prevalent among the landowners and farmers, of the advantage of the present corn laws†, the elections in the counties could not fail to turn out against the ministry, which made a change in those laws a chief object in its administration.

The following view shews how the majority and minority of the members of Parliament was produced.

* By this, they gained more than they lost by the rotten boroughs.

† Many Whigs, too, participated in this opinion of the danger of making a change in the corn laws.

I.—From England. Against—for the Ministers.		
1. County Members....	126	16
2. Town Members	147	162
3. The Universities	-	-
	277	178
II.—Wales.		
1. Counties	12	2
2. Towns	7	* 6
	—	—
	19	8
III.—Scotland.		
1. Counties.....	17	6
2. Towns	4	21
	—	—
	21	27
IV.—Ireland.		
1. Counties	23	32
2. Towns	18	24
3. Universities	2	0
	—	—
	43	56
Total	360	269
Majority.....	91	—

Hence it appears that the Whig ministry was overthrown entirely by the elections in the English

counties : and that, on the other hand, in the towns, and in Scotland and Ireland, they had the majority.

The country, say many people, has betrayed itself, and will go to ruin, unless it is saved by a miracle. Others say, a government is now established for many years to come ; which, heaven be praised, will do exactly the contrary to what the late ministry did. I must contradict both these opinions. Of late years, the parties were so equal in power and numbers, that they balanced each other ; and almost every important proposal met with insuperable obstacles. This state of things was injurious to the country, and naturally called forth an opinion, that it was necessary to establish a preponderance on one side, to make a powerful government possible, and call those to the helm who had so long affirmed that they understood the management of it better.

Setting aside personal considerations, it is, perhaps, a gain for the retiring ministers and their friends, that they are now placed on their feet, without considerations that may deceive the eye, and free from the fetters of dependence ; and bound to express and enforce their convictions more boldly and comprehensively than before.

To this it is replied, they are placed in a minority for seven years, at least, and will talk and declaim much and loudly, but enforce and carry nothing.

Should the new ministry persevere in the ancient Tory notions, the opposition, out of Parliament, will increase in a dangerous manner; the majority of ninety-one will gradually fall off, and the intellectual spirit of the towns, as well as the power of Scotland and Ireland, will drive the English counties out of the field. If, on the contrary, Sir Robert Peel* will advance, as he has openly declared, in a considerate manner, he will find, in the new opposition, the best support against partiality and obstinacy in his own friends. The substance of the recent history of England, is the struggle against monopolies and restrictions of every kind. After a long resistance, the victory was obtained over the rotten boroughs, the opponents of Roman Catholic emancipation, the old poor-laws, and municipal laws, the monopoly of the East India Company, and the tea trade to China. Even a majority of the former opponents of all these great measures now acknowledge their necessity, and the advantage resulting from them; and, after this acknowledgment, they cannot remain stationary at an arbitrarily chosen spot. There may be disputes on isolated questions, on pounds, shillings, and pence; but, on the whole, and on a great scale, Lord John Russell's proposals

* Do not let us remain stationary. 18th May, 1841, Hansard, lviii. p. 631.

of free trade, and a reform of the system of taxation, will inevitably triumph. In them, the entire future welfare of England is concealed, or rather, I should say, is plainly manifest; and when the persons of this Whig ministry, for various reasons, now forsake the field of battle, their principles, on the other hand, take possession of it, and the apparent defeat will be changed, sooner or later, into a victory for the weal of this country.

At all events, England will persevere in its majestic course; all parties, whether they will or not, must contribute to it; and what in many countries forms a dangerous crisis, is here only an element in a popular, natural development. The more cheering this certainly is, the brighter these light sides appear; the darker, on the other hand, are the shadows which (for instance, in the parliamentary elections, the state of Ireland, Chartism, the schools, the religious disputes, and the distribution of taxes) I am by no means disposed to palliate or conceal. That the light may overpower the shade, and the vigour of general health overcome these local defects, is the hope and the trust of all true Englishmen; and, with them, the hope and the trust of Europe.

APPENDIX.

I.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN IN

1836.

London, April 30, 1830.

AT eight o'clock in the evening, Dr. Holland took me to the Royal Institution, shewed me the Library and collections of natural history, and explained to me the arrangement of the whole establishment. After this, Mr. Faraday delivered a lecture, to a very numerous company, upon blacklead and blacklead-pencils. With incredible celerity the small planks were, by the aid of machines, sawn into narrow slips, the groove formed, the lead inserted, the cover laid on and fastened, and the square pencil rounded and finished. The mode in which the ~~subject~~ was treated, was the model of an intelligible, instructive, and entertaining lecture. Other lecturers treat, every Friday, in a similar manner, on attractive subjects. Why have we nothing similar? Or, why do we not, at least, attempt and aim at it? Our academies, by their organization and mode of treating these subjects, excite the interest of their own members rather than of the public. Other societies, which exist under all sorts of names, seem, in the end, to have for their chief object, social conviviality. This British Institution combines, in a laudable manner, external convenience, literary resources, agreeable conversation, and welcome instruction. If it would be difficult to imitate that part, for which much

money is required, an attempt might and ought to be made to deliver lectures, gratis, on various subjects, and to interest the public in them. I was told, that among the audience, there were many persons whose object is to fill up a leisure hour. So much the better, if they learn to employ their leisure in this manner, while cards, or other less innocent amusements, are elsewhere considered as the only recreation. * * * *

London, May 6.

* * * * I awoke this morning in a most melancholy frame of mind. I dreamt I was at Breslau, went to visit Manso, and found him dead. When I awoke in a fright, it was of no avail to know that Manso certainly died some years ago ; I was seized with apprehension about you ; it seemed as if all my distant friends were dead ; I thought it extremely miserable and deplorable that a man could be only on one spot, and if not every where, yet in several places at the same time. The power of transporting myself in my thoughts, did not satisfy me, and is in truth not satisfactory ; and the improved means of travelling appeared to me to be still no better than a snail's pace. After these and similar thoughts had passed confusedly through my mind,

they turned at last to the many removals of persons in office, which are to them a species of death. I know very well, that higher general considerations often make such removals necessary, to relieve from local prejudices, and to lead to a more comprehensive and exalted knowledge, especially to a more accurate, indispensable acquaintance with various parts of the country ; but the motives and occasions are frequently of a trifling and arbitrary kind. In such cases, public officers appear as mere instruments, as portable machines, not as free, independent men. They suffer from a slavery of motion, to which the Glebe adscriptio appears to be ~~so~~ far a happier state ; inasmuch as the adherence to the soil, and to all that surrounds them, gives firmness and confidence ; and every affection and attachment retains its full value. Happily, it has not yet become usual among us entirely to sweep away, as they do in France, the public officers all at once ; or, at certain intervals, to scatter them in all directions : though there are not wanting persons in Germany, who fancy that no good administration is possible without ministerial despotism. No London tailor or shoemaker would give up his liberty and independence, the choice of his residence, the time of his work, or suffer another to prescribe them to him. Hence our clerks, secretaries, private secretaries, ~~titular~~ conn-

sellors, &c. appear to be most pitiable persons, and our poorly paid counsellors as mere starvelings. And, in fact, most of the salaries are so small, that no man with a family can live decently upon them ; and if our administration, notwithstanding this, annually costs more, while here, the government is cheaper from year to year, this is not occasioned by the largeness of the salaries, nor by the great number of officers, for they all have plenty to do, but from the complex system of government, of which I have before spoken*. The form of the English legislature, by two houses of Parliament and committees, is certainly too diffuse, and many a law has been too long deferred for want of time ; but, in fact, it is much more difficult for a law to be now passed among us, when so many local governments, provincial assemblies, separate departments of administration, and the council of state, are to be consulted. In spite of much centralization, a centre is wanting ; for to refer all these things to the king alone, would be (disregarding his exalted station) subjecting him to the most deplorable burdens.

Among us, some seek situations in the public service, from poverty, and erroneously consider it as

* In England, too, some persons now complain that the government has so much reduced the salaries of public officers, that no man, who is at all independent, has an inclination to seek for office.—Hansard, xii, 917.

a provision ; ridiculous vanity impels others, who look on the slavery of office as above the free citizens, and an independent mode of livelihood. The matter has, however, another laudable side ; that the service of the state is so highly valued, that the most talented and educated are the most desirous of being connected with the administration, is a compensation for the absence of many political forms : as soon as public officers are no longer looked upon as the most honourable class, and as the most honourably occupied ; as soon as the most carefully educated young man rather embrace other occupations ; the ignorant and selfish would push themselves forward, and the class of public officers would lose that sense of dignity, which is the guarantee of elevated sentiments and indefatigable exertions. Only thoroughly educated and tried, highly esteemed, and irremoveable officers, make it possible to have an administration which maintains freedom, and at the same time recognizes the necessity of the general law. If these conditions should be done away with, the just reputation of the Prussian administration would decline. * *

London, 10th May.

* * * * I write to Agnes about all kinds of trifles in English. The chief business of yesterday was Fidelio. After tedious and unpleasant waiting at the door, I obtained a good seat, and must repeat, on the whole, my report of last year. Malibran, who, in spite of her laudable exertions, could not inspirit me in the Sonnambula, appeared yesterday in all her greatness ; but then, what an immense difference is there between Bellini and Beethoven ! Two things, however, I cannot approve. First, that Malibran (more frequently than last year), in order to gain the applause of the unmusical public, introduced wholly new-fashioned passages and cadences in improper places. The many always clapped, most heartily at these excrescences, which distressed those who really felt and understood music ; and Beethoven would never have approved them. Secondly, in the prison scene, she approached the governor so close with her pistol, that he might have taken hold of it, and stood in what is called a picturesque attitude, immovable, for perhaps a minute, while the sturdy fellow trembled like an aspen leaf. His fear of a pistol at all times requires some faith, but cannot be accounted for, unless the persons are at least some paces from each other ; here Brobdignag had an immense dagger in his hand, and Malibran something that looked like a door key. * * *

London, May 17.

You cannot imagine with how much interest I regard the Princess Victoria. The fate of England, perhaps that of Europe, depends upon her life, her disposition, and her abilities. Her death, the accession of the Duke of Cumberland to the throne, the claims of his son Prince George, whose eyesight seems unhappily irreparably lost; all this exhibits such a series of weighty considerations, and even of possible dangers, that one always turns again to Victoria, as the sheet-anchor in the storm. The prudence and popularity of the Duchess of Kent are universally acknowledged; and, if I am not deceived by my predilections and the longings of Hope, I see in the Princess such unaffected modesty, such amiable cheerfulness, and in her intelligent eye such a clear, penetrating understanding, that I confidently trust, that altogether they will develop the mildness, and at the same time the energy of character which are necessary in a sovereign. I hear that she has naturally, and not from compulsion and importunity, a very great desire to be acquainted with history; and it may be hoped that the fruits of this royal study will be one day manifested in her actions. You smile, perhaps, and think that I am dreaming of a second Elizabeth, and am already writing, *a priori*,

a partial and untrue history. Well, if I am not more mistaken about the Victoria of the nineteenth century, than about the Elizabeth of the sixteenth, I am a happy prophet. Our age, it is true, requires a different mode of thinking and governing, from that of Elizabeth ; but if great sovereigns, like Henry IV, Elizabeth, Frederick II, were to return to the earth, they would comprehend the present times as they did their own, and govern admirably in conformity with them. It is the fault, even of noble-minded persons, destined by their situation to govern, that they rather turn with earnest longings to the past, which they would restore and exclusively maintain, or with bold enthusiasm lay hold of the distant future, and would immediately realize it. Both exhaust their strength, and do not lead to the end proposed. All governing refers essentially to the present ; is a medium between the past and the future, through the all-important present ; and requires an equally keen perception of both ; from which the right understanding of the present proceeds. All great sovereigns were the right kings for the ages in which they lived, and for the state of things then existing, not for one which had passed away, nor for one which was to come. But all these reflections are of no use to you or to me, who have nothing to govern ; I ought rather to read lectures to the Princess Victoria on the subject.

London, May 18.

* * * * * After successful search in the State Paper Office for materials relative to the yonth of Frederic II, I called on Mr. N., to accompany me to Messrs. Rundell, Bridge, and Co. jewelers and goldsmiths to His Majesty and all the Royal Family. They had sent me a written invitation, and offered to show me their splendid establishment. In this courtesy, I recognized, with becoming modesty, the most delicate manner of conveying a just reproof, for having, in my letters last year, given my opinion on such matters, from the knowledge I had acquired by looking in at the windows of some goldsmiths' shops. Every thing was shown to me with much readiness and politeness ; and what is the result of this examination ? From the praise which I bestowed on the talents and taste of the Berlin artists, I cannot, in any wise, deduct ; but the praise of the London artists is to be added. First, with respect to the quantity and beauty of the pearls and precious stones : it far exceeds every thing that our poorer country can show, while the arrangement and setting was equally elegant and rich. I felt that one can have a natural, and, as Kant requires, an entirely disinterested pleasure, in this variety of colours and forms, these sparkling and dazzling gems — disinterested, for even the annual interest of the capital

value of many a single ornament would be sufficient for me to live very comfortably. Silver plate is as indispensable to the table of an Englishman, as porcelain (*Gesundheitsgeschirr*) to the table of a German. Besides these things, I saw goblets, candlesticks, dishes, snuff boxes, &c. not only of great value, but of tasteful designs, and not a few were highly-finished works of art. *The crown of the whole was the Shield of Achilles, admirably wrought in silver, after Flaxman's designs. I will bring a print of it with me, to add to our outlines for Homer's works: it costs a thousand times less; namely, thirteen dollars, instead of thirteen thousand.

Friday, May 20.

The sky was so obscure yesterday morning, that a German would have predicted a heavy rain; instead of that, it cleared up, and we had the finest weather for the races, which infused fresh spirits into our company. The spring shone in the greatest splendour; country houses, gardens, meadows, groups of trees, appeared in the most charming variety; by which England is distinguished above all other countries with which I am acquainted. To this was added, on the present occasion, the masses of pedestrians, horsemen, and carriages, all hastening to

Epsom. People of all ranks, in the most motley variety, were on their way to this national festival. No where in the whole world (this may be asserted without fear of contradiction) is such a number of carriages and horsemen, of fine horses and handsome women, to be met with. The locality is extremely favourable. The course runs round a hill, which forms a natural and great amphitheatre; so that all the spectators have a good view of it. As soon as we arrived, we passed over the whole space, saw at least a part of the horses in a garden, and heard how innumerable bets were arranged at a certain place. At length we saw the jockeys at the edge of the horizon, like gay butterflies, and scarcely had we got sight of them when they flew past us, and the race was decided, to the great joy of some, and the disappointment of others. There were three heats in succession, as you will see in the annexed plan. We then proceeded to breakfast, with a good appetite: cold beef, fowls, tongue, &c. were quickly dispatched; hock, Montepulciano, and champagne were in abundance; and this repast, which I took sitting on the coach-box, is among the most agreeable of my life: the unclouded sky, the lovely spring weather, general hilarity, the uninterrupted change of scenery in this immense panorama, all combined to afford the highest enjoyment. Of course, such amusement is more ex-

pensive than in Berlin: no carriage is to be had, on this day, for less than ten guineas. A troop of gipsies, thanks to the indulgent police, rambled about; and one girl, in a dark red cloak, with raven hair, brilliant eyes, and sunburnt cheeks, was, in her way, such a specimen of Asiatic beauty, that I beckoned to her, and made her tell me my fortune. As she perceived by my pronunciation that I was a foreigner, it was easy for her to wish me a happy return to my own country; when she added that an unexpected honour awaited me; I answered, certainly, inasmuch as I have the pleasure of seeing such a handsome girl. * * * *

London, May 21.

At the same hour in which the black-eyed gipsy foretold that good-fortune awaited me, Lord John Russell mentioned me in Parliament. "He said," as the *Times* reports, "he would take the occasion to mention and recommend to the House, sentiments which he had read in the letters of a foreigner, that had lately appeared. Letters written with great intelligence, honesty, and knowledge, and which regarded the political events that had occurred in this country last year. The writer, an impartial foreigner, in remarking upon the differences that had

occurred last autumn between the two Houses of Parliament, observed, that what was the more popular assembly, and, therefore, the less likely to act with calmness and temper, had shown more of both, than the other House of Parliament." (Hear, hear.) You think, perhaps, I may now rest complacently on my laurels ; by no means. If I am led into temptation to indulge in vanity, kind Heaven sends me, at the same time, an antilote, and the gipsy might just as well have foretold that disgrace awaited me. Thus, the Standard, the pretended advocate of the higher classes, has abused me, and called me, in plain terms, a blockhead and a ragamuffin. * * *

London, June 1.

Certain persons affirm that a man whose head is full of politics, or is qualified to take part in them, neither will nor can trouble himself about such trifles as balls, concerts, &c. or he who does so, thereby proves his incapacity for higher objects. According to this rule, I ought always to erase one half of my letters, or rather not to write it ; the history of great men proves, however, precisely the contrary ; and little people (among whom I have the good fortune to reckon myself) have no occasion to mind the directions of such grumblers. Some persons are by

nature incapable of seeing and comprehending beauty, as many, even of those called artists, prove ; others think it sinful to see, and to take pleasure in visible objects, or, at least, would disturb it by pretended moral reflections. What, say they, are eyes, but gristle ; teeth, but bits of bone ; and the whole body (according to Luther's coarse expression), but a bag of worms ? (Madensack.) Such a warming may, at times, be necessary to the vain and unthinking ; but the apparently worthless, the indisputably perishable, is transformed, by considering it in a just point of view, into something real and imperishable : what God creates in nature, and what man, by the gift of God, revives and renders durable by art, belongs together, and this development of the intellect is as proper, dignified, and pleasurable, as any other. Enough, however, of the preface to tell you that I have been at Kensington, at a ball given by the Duchess of Kent. " We are accustomed here to see handsome women," said P. de B—, and this is, indeed, true, as I can testify by daily experience. Yet, I must confess, that at this ball I was again filled with astonishment ; my thoughts involuntarily wandered to the gallery at Florence ; the same feeling of admiration, which was there produced by the most perfect works of art, was awakened here by the contemplation of the most perfect works of nature. A man may live

on for years, quietly and contentedly, without seeing beauty ; but he who, when brought into the Gallery of Florence, or to Kensington, does not feel the vivifying breath of another world, the rays of the rising dawn of a higher and brighter creation, has not a spark of ethereal fire in his bosom. Whom should I distinguish among so many, or how venture on a description ? After having long gazed around me, I saw a lady, who was turned from me, in a fancy dress ; I endeavoured to approach her, and when she turned her head, I stood petrified with astonishment. I fancied I saw one of the greatest of Raphael's masterpieces, which had hitherto been unknown to the world. It was the Lady S——r. But I must not mention any name : I dare not be guilty of pre-dilection or partiality, lest I should be chastised for my presumption. * * * *

London, June 10.

Yesterday I was present at the anniversary festival of the charity children of the metropolis, at St. Paul's Cathedral ; a scene such as London alone can offer. The vast area of the cathedral was densely crowded, and the children were ranged on eighteen rows of seats, rising one above the other, under the dome. * * * * I estimated the number of

the children at above four thousand. As far as I could distinguish, there were but few handsome boys or girls among them ; but many looked cheerful and good tempered, most of them well fed, and all particularly neat and clean. The most pleasing impression is made by the variety of dresses, I had almost said uniforms, of all these schools. Thus, the girls, without exception, wore white caps and aprons ; so that this colour predominated, especially on the lower seats, for the upper were occupied by the boys, who, in general, were more darkly clad. The dresses, gloves, waist and cap ribbons, of the girls, were of every variety of colour. Each school had, besides, its own flags and badges. The choruses were sung by the children, of course rather shrill, but in very good time, and with much precision. At the close, they joined in some passages of Handel's Hallelujah Chorus, with great power and effect ; whereas, the body of choristers in front of the organ could not fill the cathedral. Still less was it possible to hear any part of the sermon ; no human voice can fill this space. Divine service is, however, always performed in a small division of the cathedral. On the whole, the sight and the solemnity was peculiar, affecting, and deeply touching. I have never seen so many children assembled in so cheerful and pious a manner. A variety of feelings crowded upon my mind. * * * *

London, June 11.

Yesterday I dined with Dr. Holland, and afterwards heard a lecture, at the Royal Institution, by Professor Faraday, on the Elements. As usual, he combined solidity and simplicity, and manifested great dexterity in making his experiments. He showed how an apparently simple substance proves, on more accurate observation, to be a compound; how two simple bodies brought into connection, effect and produce something wholly new and unexpected; how certain powers have a more general influence; for instance, heat, electricity, &c. In a word, in this, his last lecture for the season, he carried his consideration to the limits of elementary physics and chemistry. I should have been glad, indeed, to have heard another lecture; for this limit lets us so positively feel, that it is not absolute and unconditional. We want something beyond; a transition; we must pass from atomism to dynamics, and, with every development of the doctrine of forces, we come from materialism nearer to spiritualism. Proceeding from electricity, magnetism, irritability, the question of the origin and meaning of life is inevitable; the doctrine of elective affinities is opposite to the doctrine of liberty, and the invisible and imponderable powers of nature point to the power of thought. In a word, I cannot fancy nature to be closed, without

keeping a way open to the realm of spirits; not without profound philosophy and theology. On the other hand, no philosophy and theology attains its object which entirely sets nature aside, or even rejects and condemns it as a work of Satan. The least and the simplest problems and phenomena of every-day life, as well as the greatest, are determined by these two, and are more or less wisely contemplated and decided.

London, June 12.

Yesterday I drove with Mr. and Mrs. T. and Miss N. to the horticultural gardens; a very unpronounceable and ill-chosen word. It is just the same as if we were to say the gardening gardens, or the gardening garden society. In a well-laid out garden, the flowers and fruits brought for the exhibition were placed on long tables under tents; bands of music were stationed in different parts of the gardens; and there were abundance of refreshments. A vast number of ladies and gentlemen were admiring the botanical treasures, partook of refreshments, and promenaded the grounds. Every thing and every body looked cheerful, gay, and happy, though the clouded sky threw no brilliancy on the scene; and the cold wind lessened our enjoyment. The whole fête presents a greater variety than our

exhibition at Berlin ; but the latter is perhaps preferable, not for the quantity, but for the quality of the flowers and fruit ; or, if I am deceived in this, the deception arises from the circumstances that our exhibition in the saloon of the Academy or Musical Conservatory, makes it possible to arrange the flowers in a more picturesque manner than on long tables beneath tents, which do not admit a sufficient light. I find my opinion daily confirmed, that the praise of beauty which I must always give impartially to the ladies of the higher classes, is not equally applicable to those of the middle class. Yesterday there were but few, among the many, deserving that praise ; and an equal number of Berlin ladies would have carried away the prize. In the evening, on the contrary, at Lord John Russell's, there were many more beautiful women among a hundred, than among a thousand in the garden. This is so manifest, that one cannot deny the fact, but only attempt to account for it.

London, June 17.

* * * * * * * Perceiving a play-bill announcing Shakespeare's "As you like it," my predilection for this, the boldest of all poetical comedies, this free dramatic fancy, revived ; and my curiosity to see it performed was so great, that other more im-

portant engagements were forgotten. I was pleased at the outset to see the boxes so well filled, as it was a proof that the higher classes still relish their great poet, though it is certainly no great matter for such a city as London to fill a moderate sized theatre; scarcely any thing was altered or left out; even Touchstone's reflections on the domestic affairs of the sheep were retained, and received with applause. The whole performance made the most cheerful, truly poetical impression. None of the actors performed his part badly, though I have some objections to their conceptions of a few of the characters. Thus, for instance, the fool's bride seemed to me to be too vulgar and awkward, Phœbe's love too simple; and Jaques too profoundly melancholy. It is true that his melancholy, the gloomy, poetical shade in which he contemplates the world, is very prominent, but it must not appear as if his notion were more correct, still less as if it alone were right, in opposition to the cheerful, poetic view of nature. The poet too gives sufficient hints of the reasons of his seriousness, which he probably had not in the same degree in his youth, or did not so decidedly manifest. I felt the greatest apprehension, whether Rosalind, the chief character, would be even tolerably represented. It is one of the most difficult tasks correctly to conceive the blending and the transition of melancholy and haughtiness, of ma-

den delicacy and manly bearing, of timidity and boldness, and so to combine them in one whole, that the variety and unity of this noble being, formed of the purest beams of poetry, may charm both the eye and the mind. Miss Ellen Tree far surpassed my expectation. I consider her representation to be unquestionably the best that I have yet seen in any English theatre. Her figure is slender and agreeable, and her performance proved that she thoroughly conceived and felt her part. There appeared to be an affinity between her and Shakspeare's character.

Some years ago, every preparation was made at Berlin for the performance of this comedy. Accident might delay it, but mistaken notions should not entirely hinder it. Expense is out of the question, and even an unsuccessful attempt would do honour to the manager. When I consider how admirably the piece might be got up at Berlin, what predilection for Shakspeare prevails among the educated classes, every apprehension vanishes; after what I saw yesterday, I venture to contradict more positively than ever, the common objection that the comedy cannot be performed, and is not suited to our time; any actor would think it an honour to take even the least part in such a work of poetry; for every one of them has a peculiar, decided character of his own: not merely Jaques (which I would give to Devrient), but even

William, which was most pleasantly performed last night by Matthews. Our actresses often accept of all kinds of weeds; why does not Miss von Hage stretch out her hand to grasp one woven of flowers of eternal youth and beauty? If she should bear away that of Rosalind, I have the merit of having reminded her of her right and her duty.

On the 15th, I went again to the Haymarket theatre. The first piece was a musical entertainment called "Lock-and Key." If the French voices in the sing-song of the vaudeville sound as thin as pack-thread, Mr. Sinclair sung with a voice which the more forcibly reminded me of a cable, as the words which were bellowed out related to England's naval glory. Only patriotism could call for an encore. This was followed by "The Young Queen," in which Miss Tree performed the part of Christina with much ability, and in some passages, with more boldness than this part is conceived in Germany. The third piece, "The Ransom," was one of the French stories which are so disgusting, that they ought never to be brought upon the stage; they are unpoetical tortures—one is obliged to be provoked and to weep at the same time; noble characters and ragamuffins are so jumbled together, that one cannot separate them and come to any clear understanding and feeling. Miss Tree, however, performed admirably; and if some parts,—

for instance, the screaming in inarticulate tones,—were too harsh for my German standard, I the more admired the simple and unaffected manner of her acting; for while others introduced more accents than words and syllables, she spoke distinctly, and did not suffer herself to be induced during a long narrative to attempt to give it greater variety by affectation and stage tricks.

London, June 21.

* * * After nothing had been performed, for two whole months, at the King's Theatre, or Opera House, besides two or three operas of Bellini and Donizetti, the play bills announced, yesterday, for one night only, and for the benefit of Madame Puzzi, "Don Juan," a very celebrated opera, by Mozart. You may imagine that I did not need such an encomium to witness, at length, the performance of this great work, in the first city, and by the first artists in the world. The house is large, and has five tiers of boxes; but, in my opinion, it is unquestionably inferior to the opera houses in Berlin, Paris, Milan, and Naples; nay, I prefer Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden; for the stage is in proportion much too narrow, and the remaining space too long, ~~and~~ too much widened in the middle; so that from the first

seats in the boxes scarcely any thing can be seen. The boxes, besides, are very low, and run all round, without larger divisions, pillars, or a royal box. This gives the whole a monotonous and inelegant appearance. The performance did not begin till eight o'clock ; a whole book might be written about it ; but, as I am neither able nor willing to do this, I must pick out of the many remarks that suggest themselves to me, several detached, unconnected reflections. The overture was injudiciously reinforced with cymbals, and yet there was too little light and shade, too little genuine enthusiasm, which should exalt the feelings of the audience at the very outset. Lablache, as Leporello, has a voice more powerful and more formed than any we heard since the time of the elder Fisher, in Berlin ; often rising above the orchestra, which was frequently too loud, and comparable in fulness to a whole chorus. Don Octavio was performed by Rubini, who had originally a fine voice ; but he so ornamented, among other pieces, the principal air in the second act, and so disfigured it, with fortissimo and pianissimo, with running up the scale, and suddenly catching up lower notes, that I had a mind, and good reason to hiss, while this disfiguring of the simple, touching melody, was loudly applauded. Don Juan was sustained by Tamburini. His acting was such, that if I had known nothing of

the piece and had been deaf, I should, perhaps, have taken him for a generous, innocent person, whom they were attempting to seduce. This innocence was manifested, among other things, by his refusing champagne. Tamburini's voice is fresher, more youthful, and fuller than that of Blume; but the singing of the latter was more suited to what Mozart requires, and he acted far better. Grisi, as Donna Anna, was admirable in the masquerade trio, good in the first scene, the recitative, and the air, "Or sai chi l'onore;" but Madame Schultz, in her best time, was more powerful and skilful with respect to her singing; and Madame Schröder Devrient was more animated in her action. Madame Seguin, as Elvira, was insignificant. Zerlina, Madame Puzzi, not to be compared with Mesdames Seidler and Schatzel. I have never seen and heard this part played or sung so badly. Mr. Angeli, as Mazetto, was a mere cipher. Whereas, the air, "Batti, batti," is capable of producing a most delightful dramatic effect, by the acting of the two characters; they yesterday stood as stiff as if they were petrified. The choruses were bad; the dancing wretched; and a genuine Don Juan would easily have thrown the two fellows out of the window, who were to carry him off to the infernal regions.

However, you object, you have heard Don Juan;

certainly ; and, with respect to the text, I heard it twice over, because I understood the prompter, from beginning to end, better than I did some of the singers. But was it the whole of the admirable and admired Don Juan ? So much was left out, that I got quite confused, and lost the thread of the story. Thus, for instance, the scene with the officers of justice, the Hermit and Don Octavio, the creditors, &c. was wanting ; a part of the chorus with the girls, and Don Juan's air, were omitted ; his song beneath the window was not accompanied pizzicato ; Elvira's air, after Handel, as well as her chief recitative and her principal air, were left out ; a part of the minuet and Anna's grand air, in the second act ; a part of the sublime closing scene, &c. were also omitted. At the end of the first act, Signor Puzzi came forward and played Rode's variations on the horn ; after the scene of the invocation of the ghost, the act was concluded, and M. Ivanoff came forward, in a frock coat and pumps, and sung a modern Italian flourish. What can we think of a manager who makes such arrangements ! of an audience who can tolerate—nay, approve and admire them ? We might as well cut out arms and legs from Raphael's Scripture pieces, and, by way of seasoning, patch them up with some caricatures of Hellish Breughl. It is supposed that

it must afford enjoyment to blessed spirits, if they sometimes look down, from the pure regions wherein they dwell, upon this lower world, and approve the noble efforts of men. The weather was yesterday so gloomy and foggy, that it may be hoped Mozart's eye could not penetrate ; he would scarcely have been pleased, after the destruction of his work as a whole, with the parts arbitrarily thrown about *membra disjecti poetæ*, and some successfully executed portions. It is a proof (as often happens in the history of art) that isolated great talents are not sufficient to point out, and to preserve the right way. On the contrary, talents like those of Lablache and Grisi may mislead, till folly is taken for wisdom ; profoundly skilful arrangement for pedantry ; and arbitrary awkwardness for genius. May such deplorable facts be taken to heart in Germany, as a warning example ; may all friends of genuine art combat, with head and heart, the wild, or stupid monstrosities which pretend to be revelations of a more exalted beauty, while their inward emptiness and nothingness every where appears through the royal mantle which is thrown over them.

After Don Juan, an alla polacca was to be played on the fiddle, and then there was to be some dancing ; but I had seen quite enough, and hastened home, not

raised above myself and enlivened by harmony, but out of tune, and out of humour with myself and others.

London, June 22.

Is my preceding account for that reason too ill-humoured? I cannot even now abate anything from it, and must consider the whole performance to be, at the best, a garbled translation of an admirable original.

London, 4th July.

I have certainly seen, heard, and learnt a great deal in the 83 Societies (I shall revert to the subject in the sequel). I met with some things highly interesting,—nay, unique in their kind: yet they do not entirely correspond with the object and extent of social intercourse; impeded, chiefly by the forms they have adopted, they afford in proportion too little for the head, and nothing at all for the heart. The truly useful education, and influence of man upon man, the reciprocal assistance in bringing forth thought and feeling, depend on an essentially different theory and practice. Most of the societies have no positive object, and therefore cannot take the due means to attain it. For instance, where the purpose is merely the enjoyment of the table, the object and the means

are indeed not of the highest intellectual kind ; but they lead directly to the end proposed. Many societies, on the contrary, which profess to be more intellectual, only drive the heterogeneous multitude, strangely brought together, round and round, like horses in a mill, without progress or result ; societies, which, disregarding every thing else, aim only at what is purely intellectual, are always dry and tiresome ; as, in fact, immediate instruction is wholly out of the sphere of what is called, or ought to be called, social intercourse. Mere learning does not qualify a man for social intercourse ; nay, a preponderance of learning often makes a man awkward and stiff in company. On the other hand, however, mere versatility in conforming to the minor conventional forms of polished life is totally inadequate to enable him to shine permanently in society. This is not to be accomplished without practice ; but there is likewise a superficial practice, by which the more important requisites are lost. Sociability is an art ; and many persons have no talents whatever for art ; a single qualification, or accomplishment, such as singing, reading, reciting, relating anecdotes, &c. may be welcome in company, but does not constitute a good general companion. Nay, by the predominance of some particular talent, that may suffer, which, in greater variety, constitutes the real charm of society.

All genuine sociability is dramatic, not epic ; he who is silent, or who speaks alone, is for that very reason no good companion ; but, on the other hand, society allows, and even requires, principal, as well as secondary characters ; where all aim at acting the principal part, or the secondary parts are neglected, the social drama falls to the ground.

London, 5th July.

* * * * In the evening I took up Ecker-mann's conversations with Goethe. There is much that is amusing and instructive in it; one passage, however, is remarkable; I mean that of Tieck and his connexion with Goethe. I say remarkable, because Goethe directly acknowledges that Shakspeare is elevated above him, and is gifted by God with higher endowments. But when he immediately afterwards places Tieck equally below himself, this does not agree with another remark, where he rejects the question of his relation to Schiller, and affirms that the world should be happy that two such able fellows were in it. Goethe could no more have written the Genovesa, Octavian, and Fortunatus, than Tieck could have written the *Wahlverwandschaften* and the Theory of Colours. Besides, every judgment passed upon a poet, has, at the same time, a reference to

the individual who judges, and to his commensurable or incommensurable relation to the party whom he judges. Thus, for instance, thousands have an affinity (*Wahverwandschaft*) to Schiller, and others, none to the *Wahlverwandschaften*. Solger's essay on the book gained Goethe's heart; our friend's more important, more profound works, did not affect him at all: he probably never read them. Who, it may be answered, can read every thing? Speculative philosophy and poetry are very far from each other; and the poet often lives best in his own world, when he does not, like Schiller, torment himself with the other. But Solger was distinguished from many other Philosophers, by his knowing and understanding the poets; therefore he had an influence upon Tieck; why not on Goethe? Was this a false or real all-sufficiency, or was it merely accidental.

Goethe justly objects to the notion, that he ought to have engaged in political parties. These objections, however, had another face; Goethe scarcely felt the want of a separate country, with its own institutions, sovereigns, &c. He had no need of all these things to lean upon, to raise, or to excite his enthusiasm; on the contrary, it is said to have been irksome to him that the efforts, the exertions, the activity, and the enthusiasm of the multitude were so loud, forced themselves upon him, and disturbed

him in the possession and the enjoyment of his riches and his distinct world. But do not these riches appear, in another point of view, as poverty? had not his strength likewise its unknown weaknesses? The Titan Goethe felt a stronger affinity to the Titan Napoleon than our Brandenburg and Pomeranian peasants. Yet, in the sequel, the latter were more in the right than Goethe; and the *Numine Afflatur* was not applicable to the great poet alone. Because Goethe refused community with the sorrows of Germany, he was likewise unable to participate in her joys; and the caricatures which indisputably arose vexed him, in his way, as much as they did our police, though, to be sure, *duo cum faciunt idem, non est idem*. Thus his dislike of the young artists who followed the old German style, was permanent; with all his exclusiveness, and striving against external impressions, he cannot get quit of them; all he says against certain extravagancies, at once arrogant and childish, is perfectly true; but then, did the antique school, as it is called, which he patronized, remain free from absurdities? has any really great work of art been produced by the proposals and reviews of Weimar? That this did not happen, is probably the true cause, which, however, is nowhere expressed, of his continued vexation. He either could not or would not take pleasure in what the Chris-

tian German school produced. The Klosterbruder and Sternbald had, however, pointed out the real way, in which the regeneration of art is necessary and possible. Every thing German is, in his eyes, gloomy, dark, and formless, indefinite, barbarous. And yet this can be said at most of the times of the emigration of nations, and of the Merovingians; but to put this part for the whole, would be like my considering Atreus, Thyestes, Egisthus, &c. as the sum total of Greek development. For a series of plays founded on German history, by the pen of Goethe, I would willingly give Clavigo, Stella, Eugenia, and many others.

London, July 10.

The day before yesterday, I saw, at the Haymarket, Sheridan's School for Scandal. Ellen Tree performed the part of Lady Teazle very well,—that is to say, with youthful, almost unconscious wantonness, so that she is not contemptible, and her amendment is conceivable. Webster, as Sir Peter Teazle, was amusing enough, but fell into the error which is too frequently committed in the representation of such characters. It is true, old men and lovers are not young; but when a reconciliation or reunion of the married pair is directed by the poet, this must appear in the representation also as possible, and not as a

laughable absurdity. In my opinion, Wolf, for instance, represented the husband, in the School for Old Men, as too old; and Duruissel was on the right way, when the fire* and elegance of youth were more prominent. It was also totally incorrect when Spitzeder represented the attendant of the Italian in Algiers (the highly ornamented, graceful Sontag) as a worn-out, dirty servant. Another fault which Webster committed, was excessive gesticulation, which offends the eye, as much as exaggerated accentuation does the ear. In this particular, it happens to actors, as to many women who use rouge, at first so little, that it is not perceptible, then more and more, so that their deeply coloured cheeks seem to them to be still pale. The same may be said of certain inarticulate tones, which, if introduced occasionally, may have a very comic effect; but if this grumbling, murmuring, snarling, growling, snorting, humming, hawing, returns too often, it becomes a fixed manner; then it is disgusting, and the most diverse characters have very unsuitably the same obligato accompaniment. * * *

London, July 11.

Yesterday, I introduced B—— to O'Connell. He made exactly the same impression upon him that

he had previously made upon me. He thinks that the petitions for the introduction of a municipal law into Ireland would certainly receive a couple of millions of signatures, and use the most energetic language in the politest forms. We then returned to the reasons for which a separate parliament for Ireland is necessary. O'Connell thinks that it would bring home the absentees. "If," said he, "some blood is taken from a man every day, and it is never replaced, he must decline, and at length die; so it fares with Ireland." The English landowners, foolishly oppose improvements in Ireland, and complain that they are ruined by the importation of cattle and corn. If we could bring it about, that every Irishman could buy and consume, in the whole year, only one pound of meat more than at present, the exportation would entirely cease. This exportation has become so great, only because the poverty of the people so much diminishes the consumption at home. An Irish bishop, continued O'Connell, asked me, why I insisted more on the municipal law than on religious and other laws: I answered by an old story, —the devil had shewn a man so many civilities, that he professed himself ready to prove his gratitude, and to accept one of three propositions. The devil then said, he should murder his father, or do violence to his mother, or get drunk. The man chose the

last, as the least sinful ; but, in his fit of drunkenness, did both the first and the second, and the devil gained his object. *Sans comparaison*, for me I shall also gain my object when Ireland has a municipal law. The present oligarchical tyranny is so detestable, that not a single Tory defends it. An improved municipal law must produce much good; what appears to be the less, will, in general, have the greatest consequences. A French system is as unsuitable to Ireland as it is to England. * * * Dublin has nearly 260,000 inhabitants, of whom only about 6000 are freemen, and 300 of these have got the whole power into their hands; nominate sheriffs and jurymen, impose taxes, spend the public money at their pleasure, &c. The disappearance of the Orange Lodges, by a resolution of Parliament, is an immense advancement towards eradicating hatred. The abolition of the old, useless corporations, will act in a similar manner, &c. * *

London, July 13.

The day before yesterday I went to the Hay-market to see Othello. Towards the conclusion, many injudicious changes were made; but on the whole, the genuine text was retained. Mr. Vandenhof, as Othello, was too studied; there was too

much calculated antithesis, and no pervading stream of magnanimity, or, in the sequel, of blind frenzy; however, on the whole, there was reason to be satisfied with him and the performance in general. Miss Tree acted very well as Desdemona; in some respects, with more tenderness than I expected from her; and then, in the scene where she intercedes for Cassio, with a cheerfulness, and a slight touch of self-will and obstinacy, which harmonized very well together. The moment in which Brabantio delivers her with a warning to the Moor, was, in every respect perfect, and gave a momentary glance into the future; her death was nobly given. Iago was not such a caricature as usual. Othello was succeeded by a ballet, called *The Secret Marriage*. As I had never seen any dancing here, I remained till the conclusion of the first half; there were the same leaps, whirlings, and tiresome evolutions, as elsewhere; but few handsome figures, and the feet and legs, which, when standing or walking, appeared to be well made, were distorted by the violent movements and exertions.

London, July 14.

Since I have been in England, I have often thought of L——, who once fancied me happy and

almost envied me, because I became a sort of famous man. But if he were to fare as I do, if he were thrown sometimes into hot water and sometimes into cold, if he were so courted and chastised, so flattered and whipt, he would be dead long ago. Taking all in all, one gradually becomes less sensible to pleasure and to pain ; one grows indifferent, thinks of the proverb, “Vanity of vanities, all is vanity,” and feels that a life passed in silent godliness and honesty is in the end the happiest. If Heaven has cast a man into a certain course, he must move on in it ; but the motion is outside of the port, to enter which must appear as the desired object.

London, July 20.

I cannot discover that the English have so many singularities, or peculiar notions and whims, as is generally ascribed to them ; yet individuals certainly make strange assertions : for instance, that historical painting does not, and cannot flourish among them, because there are no rooms and walls in England to hang up pictures. As if hundreds of Italian and German pictures of that kind had not found room here. Another said, more boldly, “believe me, in no age, and among no people, has painting flourished in

such perfection, or such masters existed, as now, or, more correctly, five or six years ago, in England." I answered, in astonishment, I shall be extremely glad if you will make me acquainted with the English Raphael, Michael Angelo, Titian, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, &c. &c. "How can you," replied he, "oppose six or ten countries to England alone?" "Are not all these Italians?"—"No, there is no Italy; they are Venetians, Romans, Florentines," &c.

Another Englishman asked me, are you already at home among us? Of course, I gave a conditional, rather indefinite answer. I mean, said he, whether you are already used to be set down and abused? If practice, I replied, makes the master, I, at least, have had no want of lessons, to make me acquainted with this flogging system: in fact, I have become quite callous.

London, August 1.

Yesterday, I was present till midnight, when my eyes obliged me to return home, at a remarkable sitting of the House of Commons. The questions relative to the Irish Church were treated, by both parties, with great ability and eloquence. Though it may be true, that every parliamentary sitting produces much that is partial, tiresome, and prejudicial; yet,

on the whole, it is a highly laudable and effectual means of animating the understanding, calling forth the thoughts, sentiments, and feelings, and, in the long run, of promoting truth. That so many persons are obliged every evening to think, feel, and speak, is equivalent to an education, of which most other nations are destitute. Then, again, similar forms, such as we see in France, do not give similar results ; and certain objects and ends may be attained in different ways and by different methods. The great art is to know what is suitable to each people, and every age.

In the first place, the advantage is evident, that every speaker immediately finds one to answer him, and every appearance of truth and superiority is subject to rigid examination. While I take pleasure in the eloquence of one, I anticipate what melodies and harmonies the other, equally obligato, instruments will perform. The Romans and Greeks would doubtless blame, and with justice, many things, and require that absurd customs and negligences, even in the most distinguished characters, should be done away with. For instance, that P. strikes the table ; Sh. claps his hands ; S. stutters ; Sh. squeaks ; many others change their voice, &c. &c. All this, if it could not be removed, might be, at least, much diminished, by the aid of a Quintillian,

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or by remembering and imitating the care taken by the great orator, Demosthenes. * * *

London, August 5.

Yesterday, I was invited, by Mr. J. S. to a dinner of the Royal Society Club, in the Crown and Anchor Tavern. I met a company which ~~was~~ older members assured me, was more numerous than on any former occasion ; all celebrated men, and eminent in their several departments. With some I was already acquainted, and was introduced to many others, but was deeply sensible of the deficiencies of my knowledge of literary history. The dinner was good, and conversation with the persons next me agreeable. Toasts were drank in the usual manner. One of them was ‘the strangers present ;’ among them Baron D——, and a half Frenchman, whose name I could not catch, were mentioned ; I was among the, &c. The latter gentleman, a Frenchman, but, through family connexions, a sort of Englishman, spoke of France and England ; their connexion, affinity, wisdom, progress, as if there were no other country and people in the world ; at which I was angry, and reasoned much in my own mind. While I was thus busily employed, the Chairman commenced a new speech. Lo and behold, it was my praise, the praise

of my book, and my health. As I had not time to consider what I ought to say, I adhered, fortunately or unfortunately, to the colour and tone of my mental cogitations. I said pretty nearly as follows: I was so taken by surprise, that I did not know what I should reply ; in such an assemblage, a person so insignificant as myself could scarcely be noticed ; and, therefore, I must conclude that this honour was conferred on me only because I was a German. The English and Germans had been from the most ancient times the most closely connected by their descent, and most nearly resembled each other in opinions, feelings, poetry, philosophy, political institutions, &c. Lastly, that it was the greatest honour for England, that every nation wished and strove to prove that it was connected and in union with her. These and similar remarks fell from me ; when it was all over, I felt rather confused, but it was not to be helped.

You will, perhaps, wonder that my health being drunk, as has frequently happened in company, should have so surprised and startled me ; but who gave the toast, and who praised me and my book ? —the most ultra of all the ultra tories—the member for Oxford, Sir Robert Inglis ! When Sir Robert soon afterwards came up to me, I said that I begged he would allow me not to suppress my feelings, but plainly to tell him the truth ; that I was well ac-

quainted with his speeches and principles, that I could by no means agree with them in every particular, but had every where found in them noble sentiments and a perfect consistency, of which few could boast; that, seen from his point of view, many things in my book must appear to him erroneous, absurd, and condemnable; that his speaking of me without the least occasion or necessity, and had spoken so favourably of it, proved to me that he had recognized in it a feeling of goodwill towards England and a desire to state the truth; and, therefore, it was, for very many reasons, an invaluable and never to be forgotten gratification to me, that *he*, in particular, should give me such a testimony. Sir Robert answered this confession with equal cordiality. If *he* does me this justice, what becomes of the reviewer?

August 8th.

* * * * * Some German absolutists say, every thing in England is in a state of stagnation. Nonsense! Where is every thing advancing more steadily and more happily. The stagnation is only for one session of Parliament, or rather it is no stagnation, but time gained; because every thing is more thoroughly and frequently considered, rectified, and, in the sequel, not merely a public opinion, but public

conviction is established. Are not many things in a state of stagnation among us, without our availing ourselves of the time to instruct the people respecting them, and to remove all the dross? The plus and minus will appear more clearly next year, and legislation may then proceed on surer ground. * * *

Yesterday Mr. Murray introduced me to a gentleman, and then showed us a whip for driving hogs, into the lash of which links of iron were introduced; an instrument too cruel even for swine. Have you procured this whip, said the stranger to Mr. Murray, to chastise your reviewers, when they are too bitter or too malicious?

August 12.

* * * A person, who heartily abused the notions and principles of the returned emigrants, said, by way of comforting himself, they become fewer every year, —they die off. Thus many notions entertained here will probably die off; at which, though accustomed to many contradictions, I am always astonished, and which, in opposition to the forms of society of the English, I always vigorously combat. A worthy, well-informed old man said lately, “Ireland had every thing, and had long since had every thing that it could wish for; that the inhabitants were incapable of all

intellectual and moral improvement." He described all the Roman Catholics as children of Satan. The reformed Parliament, he said, was a personification of a mob, nothing but rascals and rogues ; that since 1820, when his King died, every thing in England had gone backwards, &c. It is remarkable how such fixed ideas can accord with good-will, benevolence, and perspicacity in other respects, though they are evidently as absurd as those that are directly contrary to them, on which the opposite school declaims. This school begins the history of England with the year, 1830 ; or rather will not begin it till annual parliaments and universal suffrage are established. Heaven be praised, the great vessel of the state sails steadily and uninjured through these many-coloured bubbles. That worthy old man forgot that, under *his King* (George III.), America was lost by a mode of treatment and rigid principles, which the heirs of those notions, in an equally erroneous manner, now apply to Ireland. My own researches in the State Paper Office afford equal proofs that the English policy, from 1763 to 1783, was the most incapable of all, and obtained nothing that it aimed at. It was a wonder, or at least it was not in consequence of the legislation and administration, that England was not ruined in that period. The men in power did not understand the age. Hence so much vain exertion, obstinate perseverance, and

useless complaints. All diplomacy is a conciliation of the past with the future, through the present. He who ties knots when he should loosen them, or loosen them when he should tie them, will always be doing something absurd. And how very frequently have diplomatists offered incense to themselves, when they had exhausted their efforts on some object which was entirely out of season. How often, by fixing their eye too intently upon one point, have they overlooked far more important things, springing up in others. The loss of North America, the partition of Poland, the Turkish wars, in that period, arose entirely from such mistakes. If my late collection of papers from the British State Paper Office had not already a double title, I might choose "*School for Diplomatists*," for the second.

Are things now better? are they more skilfully managed? Whereas all the European powers should have unanimously exerted themselves with Christian charity, or even with heathen prudence, to put an end to the troubles in Spain, and to promote human improvement, each party worships its own golden calf (legitimacy or constitution), knows nothing of God, who dwells far above his idols, and produces in the ultra-political hot-houses evils and crimes, of which the most barbarous ages would be ashamed. When we see how the Christian powers of Europe watch

each other with a jealous eye, through their ambassadors and ministers of foreign affairs ; how no thread of confidence, of charity, of attachment, of public spirit is interwoven, and this brilliantly plated heartlessness passes for the triumph of policy ; and such a man as T. or S. may be, and is, the Baphomet or Mephistopheles of our days ; might one not feel inclined to turn with disgust from these political entertainments, and, instead of studying history and politics, recline at ease in the grass, basking in the sunshine ; one would certainly then not be the worst thing that the sun shone upon.

However, *nil desperandum*. Mankind is under a higher protection ; and is illumined by other stars than those of orders :— and what has been done sometimes serves for instruction and improvement.

London, August 14.

By what wretched, petty means is it hoped to cure the diseases of the times, and produce renovated health and vigour ! If, as I am told by some Englishmen, the Duke of Cleveland is forbidden to read the Morning Chronicle at Aix-la-Chapelle, to many this may appear a great exploit. And what is it that this ministerial paper recommends ? It recommends, independently of all personal questions, the abolition of corporal punishments in the army,

the introduction of a municipal law, and the establishment of schools, and religious toleration. Instead of keeping in view this agreement with all the great Prussian institutions, which, it is true, are an abomination to many of our own politicians, people vex themselves about isolated reports and expressions, which appear here daily in all the newspapers, and which expire with the day that brought them forth. England (I hear it constantly repeated) is in a state of revolution. Certainly it is, and a very great and important one, which would not be checked by commissioners assembled at Kópnick and Mayence ; and this, because it is not children engaged in childish things, but men who apply all their energies to great objects. And yet, during so many years, not a single person has been arrested for political offences. * * * * When that which was once young and vigorous becomes old ~~and~~ decays, the feeling of compassion and sorrow is as natural as it is noble ; but by preserving corpses as mummies, we do not give them new life.

Who can seriously believe that slavery can be re-established, the monopoly of the Asiatic trade restored, the English municipal law abolished, the old poor law revived, the great towns deprived of the elective franchise, and thus going still further back, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, &c. up to

Magna Charta, be abolished ? For all these things were called revolutionary in their time ; and so indeed they were, but in the right, good sense of the word.

Unreasonable haste is undoubtedly very dangerous ; but it arises, for the most part, from mistaken resistance. The ultra Tories are the real fathers and grandfathers of the Radicals ; they daily produce them, and increase their numbers ; as, on the other hand, ultra Radicals produce high Tories. * * *

Bristol, August 24.

On the 24th, at eight in the morning, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. T—, I left the White Horse Cellar in Piccadilly, in, or rather upon, Cooper's Old Company Coach. We had taken three outside places behind the coachman. Mr. T— sat on the right hand, Mrs. T— next to him, then I, and on my left, an acquaintance of Mr. T—'s, who accidentally joined our party. There was not a vacant place either inside or out. My first thoughts or feelings related to the pleasures and discomforts of travelling in England ; and, in fact, they continued through the day, for reasons which you will allow to be sufficient. Thus we had excellent horses and good roads, and were carried so rapidly

along, that, from eight in the morning till seven in the evening (eleven hours), we travelled above one hundred English miles to Bath. But now comes the dark side of the picture ; we had a narrow board, without a cushion, to sit upon ; no room to stretch out our feet, or to move sideways ; no back to the seat, except a pile of trunks and portmanteaus, and nothing over our heads but the sky, which, as is always the case in London in the morning, looked sombre ; however, as the preceding day had been very fine, we hoped that the weather would brighten in proportion as we got to a greater distance from London ; these hopes were literally turned to water, the rain came down more and more heavily, and a storm arising at the same time, drove it into our faces. Two umbrellas on our extreme right and left were blown to and fro, and therefore afforded little protection. Besides, they formed a double gutter, which conveyed the rain over my shoulders, and yet I was, perhaps, the best off, of the party ; my waterproof cloak, at all events, let nothing through ; though the feeling of a cold wet covering was disagreeable enough. I shared the lower part of my cloak, which was very wide, as far as possible with Mrs. T—— and my left hand neighbour ; the water running from the luggage was, indeed, not to be seen, but was felt enough from morning to night.

At length we were relieved by the long wished for summons to dinner ; but the time allowed was so short, we were consequently obliged to eat in such haste, and the ale was so sour, that here again we were balked of the greater part of our expected enjoyment, and were glad to proceed on our journey, that we might the sooner reach the place of our destination. While we were at dinner, however, the rain had formed great puddles of water on the seat, worn by use ; there was nothing at hand to dry it, and we had to consider it as a favour, that, after loud complaints and expostulations, a little straw was procured, and laid upon the seat, which we again occupied. It was not till within an hour's journey from Bath that the rain abated, so that we could look about us and enjoy the beautiful variety of the scenery. The little I saw in the evening, of the city and its situation, made a favourable impression upon me ; but the approach of night, as well as the desire to enjoy supper and rest, prevented me from extending my walk. The morning of the 21st of August was very fine, and made up for the sufferings of the preceding day. Bath is picturesquely built upon several hills, and the variety of views upwards, as well as from the hills into the valleys, affords the greatest pleasure. How striking is the difference between this luxuriance and cheerfulness, compared

with the bare, desolate Brighton. The large crescents at Bath are liable to criticism in respect to the architecture, but make an impression by their extent, and afford the most delightful prospects. At ten o'clock we drove, in fine weather, through a pleasant country, to Bristol. These poetical hills, valleys, and streams, will not gain, when the long horizontal line of the iron railroad is carried through them ; the landscape must be made subordinate to commerce.

Had I been suddenly set down in Bristol (that is to say, in the street which the stranger, coming from Bath, first enters), I would have laid any wager that I was not in an English town, but in an old, neglected, dirty, ill-built place, in some other country. I have never seen any thing like it, except, perhaps, in Duderstadt or Nordhausen. That Bristol, once the second city in England, has remained so far behind others, is attributed in part to the exclusive, narrow-minded municipal government. Others think it is a proof of wisdom, which in truth, does not manifest itself so brilliantly in its results, as the folly and boldness of other towns, especially Liverpool. * * * *

* * * The conversation turned on Goethe's Theory of Colours. Brewster affirmed that the whole was absolutely false, and of no use whatever to science. Another professor, well acquainted with the subject, said, the whole is an ingeniously built

house of cards, which falls together at the first touch. This opinion, he said, was general in England, and doubtless correct. * * *

I was much struck with the wish which I frequently heard expressed, for greater centralization, as well for learning, as for many other things. It is alleged, that without a general direction and a more intimate connexion, all private exertions are but fragments, and that one object is attained almost accidentally, while another is entirely missed. It appears also to be thought possible to give greater influence to the academies.

London, August 29th.

On Friday, the 26th, I hastened, before six in the morning, to the garden, being persuaded that a fine serene evening must be succeeded by an equally fine morning; instead of this, it rained desperately, and was so foggy that nothing could be seen. All around was thickly covered with one dense grey veil. Mrs. T. at once gave up all thoughts of a journey; I, on the other hand, was convinced that in doors I should certainly not see anything, while on the road perhaps something might be discernible. Accordingly, I wrapped myself in my Mackintosh, and walked with Mr. T. to the Avon. The steamer soon came in.

From the Avon, we entered the broad bay of the Severn, crossed it, landed at Chepstow, and, after being joined by a travelling companion, Mr. St——, hired a carriage to take us up the valley of the Wye to Tintern Abbey and Monmouth.* The weather gradually cleared up, and soon became so fine, that in this respect we had nothing further to wish for, and were amply rewarded for our perseverance. This valley of the Wye is so beautiful, cheerful, and diversified, that I consider it one of the loveliest that I have ever seen. It is undoubtedly by far the most beautiful spot that I have seen in England; and the day, with its reminiscences, is among the most delightful that I have passed in my travels. I must describe one point. The road winds between wooded hills and diversely cultivated banks, in a large semi-circle from one valley into the other; looking down from the road, half the height of the mountain, you see not only these rocks, woods, and fields, and the rising hills on the opposite bank, but, beyond these hills, extends, at a greater distance, a new, perpendicular, verdant, rocky wall; beyond this wall you discern the bright mirror of the Severn, and in the further background rise the wooded coasts of Gloucestershire, interspersed with yellow fields, and white houses. This view is worth the trouble of the whole journey. The road of fifteen miles to Monmouth

affords an uninterrupted succession of the most delightful prospects of hill and dale, sudden glimpses into lateral fertile valleys, and ever-changing views over rich variegated foregrounds to the far distance. This diversity is greatly increased by the circumstance that the tops of the hills by no means form a horizontal line, as is so often the case in much-admired banks of rivers ; but they rise and fall in beautifully undulating outlines. The situation of Monmouth is highly picturesque and romantic ; it lies in an extensive fertile valley, diversified with groups of trees, verdant meadows on the banks of the Wye, and views of the mountains of Wales. From a neighbouring eminence beyond the town we had a noble prospect of the whole scene. Half way between Chepstow and Monmouth are the magnificent ruins of Tintern Abbey, which are comparable to those of Fountains' Abbey in Yorkshire. I am always struck with admiration at what the energy of the mind and will of those ages produced, and cannot suppress my indignation at this barbarism at the time of the Reformation. An essential improvement in the discipline and doctrine of the church might indeed be needful ; but why direct the rage of destruction against these monuments of art and piety ? No country, no state in Europe, has erected, within three centuries, even one church so grand

as these unknown, these nameless monks, without other means than those afforded by their own will, and the confidence of the surrounding country.

We have seen, and even *now* see, similar times, when the necessary, ~~salutary~~, and inevitable progress of the human race is connected with painful throes and fearful deeds; but it is a consequence of our sinfulness and fallibility, that gold and dross are always mingled together.

On Saturday, the 27th, we drove from Easton to Bristol, and thence through Gloucester to Cheltenham, a beautiful, well-cultivated country. At the beginning, we had views across the Severn to South Wales; there was nothing desolate or tedious. Many parts of Italy are more fantastic, of Switzerland more sublime; but cheerfulness, and grace, and comfort (if this word may be connected with beauty), predominate in England.

Cheltenham is much frequented for its mineral waters, and is very rapidly increasing. The country round is beautiful, and the establishments are well arranged.

On the way and at the inn we had conversations on every variety of subject; for instance, with an American philosopher coming from Bristol. The English and Anglo-American philosophy has nothing in common with what the Germans understand by

that term. The main objects of it are of another kind; for the most part, certain generalities, such as electricity, galvanism, acids, elements, &c.: even animal life remains unexplained; of intellect, mind, and spiritualism there is no trace, but evident materialism, or a spirit, such as may be extracted from turnips and potatoes. The Germans often run into empty theories and visions, other nations into dry atomism, which is the opposite of true individuality. According to our American fellow-traveller, heat was the highest agent, the source of all life. In comparison with these, merely chemical views, the Peruvian worship of the sun appears to me grand and sublime. I endeavoured to shew that the idea of heat was not sufficient to account for the individuality of fir timber and beechwood; much less then could thought and feeling, life and death, time and eternity, God and creation, be found, accounted for, believed, admired, feared, loved, &c. in this philosopher's furnace.

I engaged in a similar opposition in a conversation on statistics, where, again, only external, palpable, measurable and numerable things were represented as the elements and foundations of relations, one half of which at least proceeds from invisible superior powers, and springs. Thus, for instance, if it was affirmed that the number of marriages and children depends entirely on the price of corn; even

supposing that love, passion, and similar causes are left wholly out of the question ; yet many other material things have an influence, such as employment or want of employment, trade, war and peace, diseases, &c. In opposition to the many statistics of bare materialism, I should like to write one of spiritualism, the true as well as the false : the latter produces political and theological superstition, the witchcraft of old wives or young constitution manufacturers.

London, August 31.

Murray has just published a good hand-book for travellers on the Continent. Most of the information is, of course, taken from other works ; there are however, original English observations, which well deserve to be translated and printed, in order to make us better acquainted with ourselves. I send you some, by way of specimen.

“ One of the first complaints of an Englishman, on arriving in Germany, will be directed against the beds. It is, therefore, as well to make him aware, beforehand, of the extent of the misery to which he will be subjected on this score. A German bed is made only for one ; it may be compared to an open wooden box, often hardly wide enough to turn in, and rarely long enough for a moderate-sized English-

man to lie down in. The pillows encroach nearly half way down, and form such an angle with the bed, that it is scarcely possible to lie at full length, or assume any other than a half-sitting position. Curtains are always wanting. The place of blankets is sometimes supplied by a light, puffy, feather bed, which, in cold weather, is likely to be kicked off, and to forsake, in his utmost need, the sleeper, who, ~~on~~ awaking, finds himself frozen; should it remain in its position in warm weather, the opposite alternative is that of suffocation beneath it. Mr. Coleridge has recorded his abhorrence of a German bed, declaring ‘he would rather carry his blanket about him, like a wild Indian, than submit to this abominable custom.’

“Fondness for titles, orders, and high-sounding forms of address, which was ever the characteristic of the Germans, though, perhaps, less intense than formerly, has by no means yet disappeared. The German is scarcely happy unless he can hang a little bit of striped riband from his button hole; and every effort of interest and exertion is made to increase the number of them, and of the crosses and stars which dangle from them.

One habit of German society, which cannot fail sometimes to make an Englishman smile, is the necessity of addressing every body, whether male or

female, not by their own name, but by the title of the office which they hold. The commonest title, to which every body aspires, is that of counsellor (*Rath*), which is modified and extended by various affixes and prefixes. There is a *Rath* for every profession: an architect is a *Baurath*; an advocate, a *Justizrath*, &c. &c. and a person who has no profession at all, endeavours to be made a *Hofrath* (court counsellor); an unmeaning title, which is generally borne by persons who were never in a situation to give advice to the court. The title Professor is much abused, as it is certainly appropriated by many persons who have no real claim to it, by their learning or office. It is better, in conversing with a German, to give him a rank greater than he is entitled to, than to fall beneath the mark. Every man who holds any public office, should it be merely that of an under-clerk, with a paltry salary of forty pounds a year, must be gratified by hearing his title, not his name.. The ladies are not behind hand in asserting their claims to honorary appellations. All over Germany the wife insists on taking the title of her husband with a feminine termination. There is Madame General-*ess*, Madame Privy-Counsellor*ess*, and Madame Day-book-keeper*ess*; and these titles sometimes extend to an almost unpronounceable length: only think of addressing a lady as Mrs. Directress of the Upper

Consistory Court (Frau Oberconsistorial Director-innn)."

Much of what is here blamed has been mended ; other follies still continue. No country or nation is free from them ; each has some peculiar to itself.

* * * * After much examination and many trials, I consider the pianoforte of Mr. Collard to be the best, not only in London, but in the world. Without the intervention of any professional man, I have confided in Mr. Collard and my own judgment, and I hope that my choice will be fully approved by you. The full, grand tone which, when properly managed, is never harsh or shrieking, surpasses all the acute, sharp sounds, resembling those of musical glasses, which may easily be produced by thin strings and weak hammers, in which many persons on the Continent take a delight. The same may be said of the mode of playing ; the strings being much stronger than on the Continent, the hammers, too, must be heavier, and a slight depression of the keys would not effectually put them in motion. In a few days, however, one becomes accustomed to the touch, and then it is possible to produce on one of Collard's instruments far more gradations of sound and ex-

pression, of fulness and delicacy, than on a slightly constructed and loose-keyed piano.

London, September 1.

* Yesterday, I saw, at the Haymarket, “What you will.” Orsino, Mr. Vining; Malvolio, Mr. Webster; Toby, Mr. Weeks; Aguecheek, Mr. Buckstone; Clown, Mr. Strickland; Olivia, Miss Taylor; Viola, Miss Tree; Maria, Mrs. Humby; &c. In the piece itself many injudicious alterations were made by way of improvement, which it is unnecessary to enumerate. The performance, too, was, on the whole, much inferior to “As you like it.” The attempt, however, was more worth the while, than in so many trifling pieces. Miss Tree was again indisputably superior to all the other performers. Malvolio was much too stiff and awkward; in fact, all the comic actors are liable to the reproach, that they are not sufficiently unconstrained, poetical and fantastical, but take pleasure in caricature and extravagance. They, very erroneously, imagine that importance, value, and effect can be given to the too spiritual, rapidly passing work, by coarseness and materialising. The vulgar, it is true, laugh most at vulgarities; but bold pleasantry and sportive cheerfulness is diametrically opposite to them; and he who cannot follow the poet into

more elevated regions, need not, at any rate, put on wooden shoes, to strut upon the floor of the stage.

* * * *

London, September 3.

* * * * Sins, however, are committed, on all sides, by holy and unholy alliances, by kings and regicides, by jailers and prisoners, by authors and readers, idols and idolaters, patients and pretended physicians, above and below, intra and extra. Thus there is everywhere reason and matter for innovation and improvement. Instead of this, every party commends itself, and condemns the others as rash, passionate, malicious, base, or all these at the same time.

This is peculiarly revolting, when sentiments, representation, and judgment, change without an acknowledgment or declaration of the true reasons. I said, sins are committed on all sides: thus, great as the frenzy and the barbarism of the Spanish mob is, who has more contributed to the lamentable fact, that an originally and, for many ages together, noble people, should have fallen into such a state of dissolution and corruption, than men of the highest rank in church and state, and, above all, the wretched Ferdinand VII. Instead of gratefully acknowledging

the energy of the enthusiasm which had freed him, of moderating what was exaggerated, he surrounded himself with a contemptible Camarilla, disappointed even the most reasonable expectations, and at last, relying on his abstract right, threw the firebrand of his law of succession into the tottering building ; so, that even the best disposed, the most honourable men, may, or, indeed must, now doubt, where real safety is to be found, or what is to be done. From this helplessness and inactivity of those who ought to lead and govern, arose the fermentation of anarchy, against which Don Carlos and his ultra-royalists and ultra-catholics by no means offer the true antidote. The other European courts might have done much—very much, to remedy these evils, if they had been actuated by sincerity in their sentiments and actions, and, above all, by Christian charity. But through all the immense number of reports and dispatches there runs the jaundiced thread of suspicion and hypocrisy.

An Italian told me, yesterday, that in the year 1828, a political congress was held in Switzerland, at which Carrel, the bepraised hero of liberty, demanded that the true frontiers of France should be restored. The Italians who were present had no objection against the Rhine, the Pyrenees and the Alps, forming such a frontier ; but Carrel then declared that the Alps did not form the south-east frontier of poli-

tical France, but the Po, which cooled the enthusiasm of the Italians and opened their eyes. * * *

While the report of cannon at Madrid blows up the whole French ministry, so that they scarcely know how to patch up another, every thing here goes on in the “even tenor of its way.” Whether the Parliament be dissolved or not,—whether Russell or Peel are at the head of the government, all goes on without committees of inquiry and soldiers, without passports and secret police, while the vigour of general health overcomes and cures all little excrescences and swellings, vulgarities and calumnies. From the time of Draco to our days, the erroneous notion has been too often taken up, that political medical police is the chief business of a true statesman. This vexatious atomism of reality produces more evils than it cures. Make healthy blood by a generous government, and there will be no need of cupping glasses. * *

Lord Mulgrave is making a real triumphal progress through Ireland—so good-tempered is that much-abused people, as soon as it sees that there is the will to treat them with justice. Now, however, the gentlemen of the black robe have discovered a law, which has lain dormant for centuries, by which refusal to pay a tax or tithe is to be checked and punished as treason, by military force; and as that

law has unfortunately not been repealed, such expeditions are now beginning. If, when the preacher of the Gospel advances in the midst of such disciples, the inhabitants of whole parishes fly, so that not a single soul remains—what a state of things!—what Christianity is this! One cannot look at Ireland without falling into sad desponding doubts on the distribution of all earthly goods, and looking upon excessive riches and excessive poverty as the greatest evils.

APPENDIX.

II.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN IN

1841.

Paris, April 17, 1841.

WHEN I yesterday read in the play-bills that Mademoiselle Rachel was to perform, for the last time before her departure, in *The Horatii* of Corneille, my old devotion to the theatre was awakened, and I resolved to go to the *Theatre Français*. The performance was to begin at half past seven; but when I went to dinner at half past five, the *queue* was already so long, that I entirely gave up the thoughts of joining it. I did not go till near seven o'clock, when I had to pay for a seat in the first row of boxes, from which I had a good view, though the large chandelier dazzled my eyes. All the actors and actresses, except Mademoiselle Rachel, were cast in the well- or ill-famed mould, so that I have nothing to report of them individually. On the whole, in comparison with preceding experience, it seemed to me that there was less exaggeration, but at the same time less talent. Were it not presumptuous in a foreigner, I would affirm that the actors in the *Theatre Français* do not speak the French language so purely and agreeably as formerly; and that, with exaggerated pretensions, a certain negligence is manifest. Mademoiselle Rachel, in comparison with Madames George and Duchesnois, is small and elegantly formed, and has rather an expressive, than a beautiful

head. Her voice is full, but is not equal in melody and clearness to that of Mademoiselle Mars, and is inferior in power to the two actresses named above. In the first act, she spoke and moved with so noble and natural a simplicity, that she seemed to descend almost too much from the tragic buskin to the tone of ordinary conversation. Many German actresses would undoubtedly have been more vehement, and taken a higher tone. At all events, she made a perfect contrast to all the other actors; and I could not conceive how the public could equally applaud both. Are there two parties here? or do the French find both methods and systems admirable in their way? The fourth act proved, however, that Mademoiselle Rachel had wisely spared her powers and resources, to produce a double effect by the contrast. After a long, violent trembling, she fainted, and gave free vent to her anger with her brother; all was executed with great animation and ability, and better than the others could have done it; yet genuine elevation appeared to me to be wanting, and many passages which ought to have carried the audience along with them, were ineffective and unpleasing. But can any thing more noble or more elevated be extracted from these five-act declinatory plays? and is not the representation naturally adapted to the works themselves? Does not the same declamation prevail in

the journals and in the chambers? The tragedy of the Greeks, of Shakspeare, even of Calderon, resounds from a very different world, and raises us into a different world. After Mademoiselle Rachel was killed, I went home, without waiting for the last act, or the comedy, which probably was not over till after midnight.

Sunday, 18th April.

* * * * I found Fauriel, as usual, in his little study, free, independent, devoted to learning, and beyond the reach of all political turmoil. We immediately engaged in interesting conversation. He affirms that there are MSS. of the French Parzifal, through which he had worked his way in the old German edition, but had not seen that by Lachmann. Very remarkable songs and ballads from Brittany, lately published, went back, he said, to the heathen contents, but had not the slightest trace of Arthur, of the round table, &c. Now, as no English or Welsh sources could be found for them, he believed that they proceeded from the clergy, and perhaps from Latin legends. In the course of the summer, Fauriel intends to publish two or three volumes on the Provençal poets, which will certainly be highly interesting. He claims Walter of Aquitain for southern France. He places the Niebelungen above the court

poetry of Eschenbach and others, and means to give his opinion upon them. I communicated to him, as briefly as possible, the state of the most recent opinions on the subject. * * * Another part of the conversation related to the state of Europe. He much blamed the manner in which the affairs of France were managed ; that Thiers had thoughtlessly disregarded the state of things, and done his country great injury. The revolutionary spirit of conquest could not, and ought not, to return ; and the isolation of France, its withdrawal from the European alliance, was an absurdity : a sincere alliance with Germany, he thought, was the only rational policy for France, as it had the same interest in opposition to Russia and England. But so long as this great truth does not take fast root here, so long as the north-east and south-west will not, or cannot establish a solid system of political liberty, England and Germany must hold together, and place themselves at the head of civilization, in a different manner from the legitimists and republicans of this country.

I had conversations on similar subjects with E. He said that there was no nation among which so many errors, partialities, false enthusiasm, &c. suddenly sprung up, as the French, nor any which so quickly got rid of them ; it was true that no one who

of cast iron ; the insufficient size of the basins, &c. : yet the *tout ensemble*, as I have said, has a grand and a pleasing effect. The Piazza of St. Peter's, at Rome, is undoubtedly far superior to it, in many respects ; yet much may be objected to the façade of the church and the colonnade ; and the entrance from the triumphal arch or the Tuilleries is undoubtedly finer than that from the Castle of St. Angelo. The tragic feelings inspired by the sublime recollections of the past, cannot predominate in Paris, in the Place de la Concorde, as it is called ; but if we forget the horrors perpetrated here during the revolution, the busy scenes of Parisian life may be more attractive to many persons than the solitude of Rome.

Instead of detailed accounts of visits, dinners, &c. I will give you, in a few words, the quintessence of the political opinions which I have heard. A Frenchman, who is well known in foreign countries, whom I induced to speak on the subject, said, in substance, what follows :—

First — The unexpected, almost chance, revolution of July was entirely adverse to my principles and inclinations ; I do not wish to have anything to do with it and its partisans. Under the restoration, France was strong ; she undertook, contrary to the will of England, the victorious expedition to Spain, laudably supported the Greeks in their struggle for

liberty, conquered Algiers, with the approbation of Europe, &c. What has she effected since ? she has declined in physical and moral strength and importance. Compare the royalists and the opposition of that time with those of the present: how far superior were Villele, Martignac, Foy, B. Constant, and others, to their successors. It is necessary to separate the government and France, as they are at present separated ; and, for the sake of separation, France has declined in power and importance. The government has only petty, contracted objects, or only one, to which it sacrifices every other, viz. to keep its ground ; a couple of hundred miserable individuals and journalists tyrannize over the country at their pleasure, and plunge it, by senseless expenditure, into enormous debts. In two years, at the furthest, the deputies will and must refuse the supplies, and then there will be an end to all these flourishes and pretended wisdom. In England, great principles and objects are in question ; here, mean personalities and intrigues. These men want to be ministers, in order that they may all at once ride in a carriage ; and if, during their short career, they have not scraped something together, they are not able afterwards to pay for their cabriolet. Others gain, spend, run into debt like that political mountebank, Thiers. Guizot, that *intrigant austère*, affects to be more se-

rious, nay, more virtuous. * * * I do not busy myself about politics ; they are not my department ; but I love my ill-governed country, and, induced by your observations, I have given free vent to my feelings.

Second.—Mr. A. M. It is an error to suppose that the mass of people in France is religious, or feels any want of religion. It is only in some parts of the south, and in Bretagne, that such a feeling may exist; but it is by no means general. On the contrary, the ancient hatred of the priests, produced formerly by their intolerance and their selfishness, still continues, or has changed into indifference. No revival of religion can proceed from the priests themselves ; they persevere in their ignorance, and reject literature and philosophy ; and for this reason they are unable either to comprehend or to satisfy the wants of the present times. On the other hand, there is growing up in the higher classes a new, strong interest in every thing relating to religion—a general feeling that religion cannot be dispensed with, and that true religion must have a salutary influence ; but the form and the substance of the old exclusive system of Catholicism and Protestantism satisfy none ; they seek and wish for something new, and more elevated, with less doctrine, less faith, and mysticism, and more truly Christian morality. Perhaps centuries may pass before

the true religion, which, however, is nearer to Protestantism, will prevail. "We must remember that it is scarcely a hundred years since we have begun to understand a little of the Gospel."

As Madame Dudevant would purify the church and religion, by taking away historical development and adding indefinite feelings, so would Mr. A. M. place in the foreground moral ideas instead of them. These two means are not new, and have always been brought forward when opposite evils manifest themselves ; but I do not see in France either so much thought that it has banished feelings, nor such a preponderance of the historical and dogmatical, that it should be necessary to moderate it, or put it into the background. It is, however, good when these matters are brought forward, on all sides and in different ways ; and even unsuccessful attempts do more than indifference and inactivity.

Third.—Mr. B.—In the great towns in France, you see the most splendid and the darkest, the most rude and the most vulgar, the highest refinement of education and the greatest ignorance, the greatest wealth and the greatest poverty, the most indefatigable activity and the most shameful indolence ; in short, the most glaring contrasts of every kind. According as we look at the one side or the other alone, we shall praise too much, or blame too much. It is otherwise in the

country, where religion has by no means disappeared : though it is here and there blended with superstition, the people there, have a sense and order of obedience, and an extraordinary, almost universal aversion to all changes. France, however, has always been governed by active and eager minorities. They wore out and destroyed each other, and the preponderating weight of the great masses moderated the movement, and obtained salutary ameliorations from the destructive intrigues. Thus the people, in comparison with their former condition, have gained immensely. Peace is necessary to all civilized nations ; but the treaties of 1814 oppress France, and, therefore, all Europe is against France. Should war take place, the fortifications of Paris must be useful ; in the first place, they will keep the populace in awe. On the other hand, they require an immense expenditure, and increase the centralization, which is already too great. * * * A condemnable fatalism appears in many works on history, and the Belles Lettres, and does great mischief.

Fourth.—Mr. A.—The question of the fortifying of Paris has been examined, and decided merely on party views. In the Chamber of Deputies, the King, Thiers, and Guizot, agreed together from different motives. It is still worse, that the proposal was undoubtedly adopted in the Chamber of Peers against the opinions of the majority. Petty favours

of various kinds, considerations for the court, &c. decided ; the expense is to be borne by other people. In the end, whatever the able King desires, is done. After all, only *one* governs in France. The Republicans favoured the fortifications, in the hope that, through some disobedient general, or in another way, they may make use of them against the King. His object is directly the contrary ; but nobody can tell who may be the winner in this game of chance.

Fifth. — Mr. J. — Atheism and Free-thinking are quite out of fashion, and the French are, upon the whole, as religious as other people. They do not change their creed ; though, if closely questioned, they would not assent to all the points of doctrine. In connection with the affairs of the Church in Germany, the French bishops are moving and combining, and urge a more strict maintenance of their power, which, according to the old interpretation, they would extend to every thing. But, in the Chamber of Deputies, the majority is certainly not on their side ; and, in France, a government which unites with them, prepares the way for its ruin. The clergy are hated, because they have interfered in political affairs, and opposed all changes and improvements. They are honoured when they confine their exertions to religious affairs. The churches are more fre-

quented than formerly, but much more numerously by women than by men. Even men like G—— and B—— affirm, that Europe fears France because it fortifies the capital, and expends more than it receives. In spite of all the wealth of the country, it is drawing nearer and nearer to a public bankruptcy, and the commercial isolation is as foolish as the political. The latter is considered, by some, not so much as necessary and useful, but they commend it on the ground of pretended self-sufficiency, and a more elevated peculiar wisdom. The commercial isolation, on the contrary, is attacked with more and more violence (after the great experience of other countries); and the high price of meat in Paris acts as a strong argumentum ad homines. Well, may all end peaceably; and then we will not judge too partially and pedantically of all these bubbles.

Saturday, April 25.

Yesterday, I again paid many visits; and some which deserve to be mentioned. B——, jun. the Orientalist, lives as retired with his family, as we do in Berlin; he speaks very decidedly against the mode of life in Paris; he says, that it wastes time and health, and mental energy; deceives, as if it offered true instruction, and so distracts the attention,

that serious tranquillity and great works are impossible.

At noon, I had the honour, as a corresponding member, to be present at a sitting of the Institute, "Classe des Sciences Morales et Politiques;" it interested me very much. In the first place, M. Blanqui read a well-written memoir of Say; a second essay was on the position of women under the Romans, and the improvement of it by Christianity. I think that other academies would do well to follow, in several points, the example of the Institute. For example, the members do not hasten to separate immediately after the papers are read, but make polite, sincere, and useful observations, on the matter and forms of what they have heard. Secondly, it is a rule, strictly enforced, to choose for the public sittings, only such essays as are attractive and intelligible to all; even some technical expressions were blamed and struck out, for that reason. Thirdly.—Many of the papers and prize-essays have reference to the present times, nay, even to the social relations of the future; whereas, in other places, they are confined to learned and antiquated disquisitions, and thereby give people occasion to declare, that the academies themselves are antiquated and worn out.

Thursday, April 27.

Yesterday evening I was at Choppin's Concert. Madame Cinti sang a most tasteless piece, by Adam. Choppin' plays with skill and expression; but in many of his compositions I miss all the laws of genuine art; detached, unconnected thoughts, arbitrarily put together, without regard to the affinity of the tones, the laws of transition, the construction of periods, &c. Even Beethoven is, in comparison, measured, monotonous, and homogeneous. When one comes from the unity in variety found in Sebastian Bach's fugues, Emanuel Bach's rondos, and Mozart's symphonies, into this Babel, it seems like the confused clatter of one hundred mill-wheels. There is nothing of one piece; all is in pieces: it is the same in painting, poetry, music, constitution, administration. It is well that I have come to the end of my paper, and that nobody here will see what I have been writing; they would say, my stupidity is colossal, and of one piece.

Wednesday, April 28.

After my work was over, yesterday, I went to the Louvre. More than half of the gallery, I am sorry to say, is hung with modern pictures. The number



of these is exceedingly great; but the quality is far below the quantity. Yet how should a few years produce an equal number of masterpieces? Shall I enter into a detailed criticism of their merits and demerits? This would require more time than I am either able or willing to devote to it. The general, irresistible impression was, however, that mechanical skill, the agreeable design of some smaller subjects, the freshness of some landscapes, could not be denied. It is true that in our own exhibitions we find, among a number of good pictures, others that are quite indifferent or tasteless; but here, the strangest extravagancies, the most disagreeable subjects, the most glaring caricatures are prominent. One cannot help looking at these incredible things; this, in truth, is the effect aimed at, which is in direct opposition to genuine art and beauty. I would gladly give the whole of these modern pictures for the little St. George, or a small head by Raphael.

* * * * * I then went to Mr. L. with whom I had some interesting conversation. Among other things, he said, "the law of 1793 has never been completely carried into execution; and it would, in fact, be the greatest misfortune for the towns themselves, to give them entire independence. After the revolution of July, when the government was weak, the towns took much upon themselves,

which so often turned out to their own injury, that petitions were sent, begging the government to interfere. Thus, the money produced by the sale of common lands was divided according to the number of heads, or it was applied in defraying the expense of public works ; but, by this proceeding, all the poorer class were losers, because the expenses were formerly raised by additional centimes, by which the rich had to pay by far the largest portion. The distribution of rights among a great number of persons has very seldom been of any use to them ; but the affairs of the towns have the more frequently and easily fallen into the hands of a few intriguers." For some years past, Mr. L. had discontinued reading the newspapers, and railed at the journalists, who say that black is white, and are perfectly indifferent to truth.

Mr. R. whom I next called upon, participated in the opinion that although a hostile policy of France against Germany was foolish, yet that it was daily gaining ground. Thiers, he said, never seriously intended war, and, if it had become probable, would have been more afraid of it than any one ; neither had he ever contemplated sending a fleet to Alexandria ; he played all these trump cards, only that he might be able, on his retiring from the ministry, which ~~was~~ to be foreseen, to make a figure in the

opposition. On my observing that all this was not in the spirit of a high-minded statesman, Mr. R. answered, it is all bragging and gasconade :—if Prussia had taken no part in the treaty of July, M. Thiers would have fallen immediately. Nothing but the fear of a general coalition could rouse the French ; otherwise, they desired neither war nor revolution. Mr. R. agreed in blaming their system of import and export duties, and observed, that in consequence of the monopoly and the high price of meat, less was now consumed in Paris than in 1789, though the population has so greatly increased. It is still more prejudicial in its effects than the English Corn Laws, respecting which I shall have much to say to you another time.

Thursday, April 29.

Yesterday, as in duty bound, I again visited the Chamber of Peers. Out of several hundred, there were only fifty or sixty present ; so indifferent, or already decided, are these gentlemen in questions which do not concern the party subjects of the day, but the internal welfare of France. The question under debate was, whether, and to what amount, a duty should be laid on cattle coming from foreign countries. Mr. Gasparin read a long speech on the

subject, in which all the common places in favour of a system of prohibition were brought forward, with as much superficialness and confidence as if science and experience afforded no instruction on the subject. The hearers, mostly attending to other things, called out at the conclusion, *très bien*. If an approximation to Germany is to be effected by a more liberal commercial system, there is no prospect of it, after such discussions. Belgium might, however, be gained to Germany, if our ultras could conquer their aversion to that state. In the speeches which I heard, there was a laughable alternation of false modesty and serious pretension; and nobody thought of attacking and demolishing the incredibly weak side of the conclusions that were drawn. Thus the reporter gave a deplorable description of French agriculture and the breeding of cattle; both, he said, were infinitely behind those of other countries; and, without the grant of a high protecting duty for many years, all would fall into still greater decay. Does not this state of things, however, prove that the system which has been followed for so many years, by no means leads to the desired object? It will certainly be needless to remind the present landowners that they ought not to lose sight of their own interests. Taking it for granted, said one, that meat would be something cheaper if importation were favoured, the

consumers would gain nothing by it ; for the prices of bread, oil, wine, &c. would then rise in a twofold proportion ; it would be necessary to pass a law against the exportation of corn, and many millions of French would be reduced to want. On the other hand, in a different place, where it happened to suit, the whole question about foreign cattle was represented as insignificant, because no more than 30,000 head were imported ; as if this were not chiefly owing to the high duty. The remark on the present small consumption of meat in Paris has no weight, because Paris has become the first trading city in Europe, and at least 125,000 inhabitants eat no meat. Is not this very circumstance a crying, lamentable evil ; chiefly produced by the stupid and selfish legislation ? and with arrogant side glances at the English and their poverty, it could not be denied that, on an average, an Englishman eats three times as much meat as a Frenchman.

Thus, then, on the strength of this and similar wisdom, all remains as it was, and the concluding form of speech (after adopting the old tariff), *le ministère s'en occupera*, appears rather like a mockery than a ground for hoping that a better system will be introduced. Some expressed a hope that if the duty were levied on the weight, and not on the number, of cattle imported, all the evils complained of would be remedied. That

tax, which acts like a bounty for bringing up large cattle, would be quite adapted to the old, obstinately defended system. But, granted that it is absurd, and that the abolition of it would be an improvement, yet facilitating the entrance of lean cattle from the interior of France would be of no advantage to the gourmands of Paris ; and if the poor in the towns, which pay a duty on consumption, get the inferior meat a little cheaper, then (as the quantity, at least, is not changed by the measure) the price would rise in those parts from which the cattle are chosen.

The whole chamber of Peers is like a tree which has neither vigorous roots, nor a flourishing crown, and the men of learning who have been placed in it are of no importance, or entangled in error. *Suum cicique.* The Chambers of Peers for men of learning are the universities, the academies, the press ; they rarely understand any thing of business, nor men of business any thing of the sciences ; and it is seldom that those who are interested in a matter have any notion of disinterested independence ; hence so many absurdities of all kinds.

Friday, 30th of April.

Is it owing to the weakness and the captiousness of age, that I no longer find Paris so amusing as I used

to do? The fine Tuilleries and the pretty little girls are indeed always pleasing, and the charming weather invites one daily to return to them. The shops, which I have so often seen, have nothing new or elegant to display. In the shawls, for instance, I find the same unmeaning designs; in ribbons and printed muslins, less tasteful and pleasing patterns. It seems as if invention were exhausted, and people had returned to the shapeless, indefinable, stiff, and confused patterns of former times. I thought the kaleidescope might be turned to good account.—All agree on the decline of the theatres, which were always inconvenient, and are now excessively hot, though so early in the season. Not a single actress of distinguished talent has succeeded Mademoiselle Mars; and Mademoiselle Rachel is but a substitute for a tragic actress, as French tragedy is a substitute for the genuine. A pit ticket for the Opera costs more than one dollar, and yet the seats are much closer together than with us; and, therefore, the universal custom among the elegant Parisians is, to walk upon the seats on going in and out, so that there is no end to wiping off the mud which their boots leave behind.

I daily call to mind how much intelligence, activity, bravery, amiability, the French nation possesses,—how unjust it is to judge of it by some jour-

nalists, novelists, deputies, and ministers; in disgust at the forwardness with which some insolently push themselves into notice, to overlook the more worthy, who keep in the back-ground; to deny the richness of the French literature, from too high an estimate of that of other countries, and, in general, to measure a people by a foreign standard, which is not applicable to them.

Paris, 29th April, to 3rd of May.

It is uncertain whether I shall become personally acquainted with Madame Dudevant; it is certain, however, that I am seriously preparing myself for it. Instead of her novels, which are said to be immoral, I took up her latest work, "Spiridion," which is said to be pious; but I do not yet know whether I have chosen the best. * * * * The tricks or the mistakes of individual system-makers, or confessors, are censured; we are invited to turn from partial views, to such as are more elevated and more general; and some minds are characterised in their active but convulsive efforts; all is skilful, exciting, well intended, but in the end merely superficial. Every thing solid, positive, historical, in religion, dissolves into a cloud, tinged with the rays of the morning or the evening sun, which every one, like Polonius, may take for something different, and try

to grasp it. Not only are the fancies of the ancient mystics about the "millenium, &c. far more elevated, but even what Fenelon and Madame Guyon called forth to animate petrified doctrines. "Spiridion" is not an irreligious, nor an ill-intended book ; it may even be useful to some who would otherwise never have turned their attention to these subjects : nor will I severely blame the vanity of the authoress with which she pretends to purify revelation, and the church. In fact, however, she neither solves difficult doubts, nor firmly establishes great truths. She is not equal to the task, even in an aesthetic point of view, or only to a subordinate, apparent solution. With what profoundness, what intelligence and feeling, what irresistibly exciting and overwhelming power has Tieck treated similar questions and subjects in the "Cevennes," the "Hexen Sabbath," and the "Schutzgeist."

After "Spiridion," I read "Uzkoken," a book of a wholly different kind. It is the same story as that of Byron's Corsair and Lara, but the authoress affirms that she has kept more faithfully to the truth, though her hero appears in a more unfavourable light. She presents us with crimes enough ; but they are not exaggerated, nor dwelt on with pleasure : crime meets with its due punishment; and the style is animated and vigorous. The tendency of the book is not immoral, in the ordinary acceptation of the term ;

but I am offended, and feel uncomfortable and hurt, by the inflammatory fever of Italian *Wahlverwandschaften**; as much as by the slow fever of the German. Is it the natural or the highest destination of women and effeminate men to fly, like the humming bird, into the jaws of the serpents of both sexes ? Then, in that case, the large, if not the small, animals are better off than man, and his liberty and accountability are at an end. Those *Wahlverwandschaften* (affinities) which spring up from the soil of unsatisfactory systems of ethics and art, are wholly different from the noble, powerful, eternal, harmonious accord of generous minds. This unites and supports the world ; the other lets us fall into impotent dissolution, or chaotic ruin.

The third book which I read was “*Les sept cordes de la lyre.*” Unquestionably occasioned by Goethe’s “*Faust,*” as the preceding book by Byron ; yet again essentially differing from it. Many parts are bold and rich in imagination ; others tedious and trifling. A detailed examination would take too much space and time. The following passage may be applicable also in Germany.

“ Ne dirait on pas que l’âge a glacé ton sang ?
C’est la mode au reste. Tous les jeunes gens se disent blasés. Encore s’ils quittaient les plaisirs pour

* The title of a novel by Göethe.—T.

l'étude ! Mais il n'en est rien. Leur amusement consiste à se faire tristes, et à se croire malheureux. Ah, la mode est vraiment une chose bizarre !”

I subjoin the following as another commendable passage :

“ A ceux chez qui la beauté idéale ne peut se manifester que par les sens ; donnez pour préservatif contre la débauche, la nudité sacrée de la Venus de Milo. Voyez votre erreur à vous autres moralistes, qui vous détournez avec crainte de cette beauté matérielle comme d'un objet impudique et propre à troubler les sens. Si vous compreniez l'art, vous sauriez que le beau est chaste, car il est divin.”

Fourthly.—“ Gabriel,” not a drama, but, as the authoress justly says, a “ drame dialogué :” the plan is original, and the story attractive. I shall not here undertake to develope and examine it, but only transcribe one passage, by which Madame Dudevant herself illustrates and confirms my preceding remarks*.

“ O amour tu n'es donc pas une religion ? Tu n'as donc ni révélations, ni lois, ni prophètes ? Tu n'as donc pas grandi dans le cœur des hommes avec la science et la liberté ? Tu es donc toujours placé sous l'empire de l'aveugle destinée, sans que nous ayons découvert en nousmêmes une force, une volonté, une vertu pour lutter contre tes écueils, pour

* On the objectionable Wahlverwandschaften.

échapper à tes naufrages ? Nous n'obtiendrons donc pas du ciel un divin secours pour te purifier en nous-mêmes, pour t'ennoblir, pour t'élever au dessus des instincts farouches, pour te préserver de tes propres fureurs, et te faire triompher de tes propres délires ? Il faudra donc qu'eternellement tu succombes devoré par les flammes que tu exaltes, et que nous changions en poison, par notre orgueil et notre égoïsme, le baume le plus pur et le plus divin qui nous ait été accordé sur la terre !”

Fifthly.—A lady, speaking to me of Madame Dudevant, said, she has a great talent for conception and description, but neither principles, philosophy, nor religion. Let her think as she pleases and live as she pleases ; but it is unpardonable to abuse her talents, to undermine the foundations of all domestic happiness, of all social ties ; or, at least, to make them appear doubtful and ridiculous.

Sixthly.—“*Leone Leoni.*” The title-page of the book is torn out, but it has been sent to me from the circulating library, as a work of Madame Dudevant. Somebody has scribbled a head at the beginning, under which he has written George Sand, and daubed a glory over it ; the book is far removed from all sanctity. The story, if true, might be simply related as one of the very worst criminal narratives of scoundrel men and base women. With

the addition of the aesthetic seasoning of feeling, sensibility, despair, necessity, frivolity, weakness, shamelessness, the whole has such a disagreeable colour, such a disgusting taste, that a violent fit of sea-sickness is preferable. This is another of those damnable affinities, beginning with a dangerous playing with sin, and in the end considering manliness, virtue, repentance, and regeneration, as impossible, or, at the best, as trifling and unnecessary. Thus Leone and Juliette are cried up and represented as irresistible models of every thing amiable (as if this were compatible with downright infamy), and of generous female devotion (as if this were possible, without true respect for herself and others). If there are creatures, so fated for the house of correction and the scaffold, we ought immediately to send them thither by the railroad; but not think of taking a walk with them in the gardens of poetry. The book too has no real conclusion; and neither poetic nor social justice is done.

Besides Sand's novels, the librarian sent me some others, which I dipped into. They appear to me like a *clavecin oculaire*, on which nothing is performed but motley nothings, rascalities, and every sort of infamy, which can possibly be contrived or executed by persons of both sexes; and these abominations, covered with a transparent veil, are offered

as the essence of all poetry ; nay, directly as a manual of social wisdom and morality. All that is not convulsively distorted, is represented as ugly, or at least as insignificant ; all truth as unpolished, all virtue as superfluous and tiresome. The reading of such books must be dangerous in the extreme to the ignorant and thoughtless ; and even those that are stronger and nobler, ought not to corrupt or enervate, or at the best to sully, their minds with them. In comparison with these productions, Boccaccio is innocent ; and the Monk in Rieferstein excusable, who, in order clandestinely to introduce the book into his convent, gave it out as a book of prayers for every day in the week. It is to be hoped that there are novels of another and a better kind to be met with here, to which my censures do not apply.

Seventhly.—“Le Sécretaire Intime,” is like dashing scene-painting. The story is an impossibility ; there is no proper conclusion, at least only an unsatisfactory and dissonant one. Much too seems to me very indecorous, though I am neither a puritan nor a prudish young lady.

Yesterday, being the King’s fête day, I strolled with W—— through the Tuileries, across the Place de la Concorde, through the Champs Elysées, back to the Madeleine, &c. The illuminations were chiefly by lamps, on detached triangular stages and

arches. Besides these, the cornice of the triumphal arch, three detached obelisks before the palace of the Deputies, two before the Madeleine, two before the palace of the Foreign Department, and the cornices of some other public buildings, were pretty well illuminated. No building, however, was entirely illuminated, so as to shew the architecture ; neither were any private houses lighted up. It is, therefore, not to be compared with the illumination of Berlin on the day of doing homage to the King ; nor to that of St. Peter's, at Rome. All the Parisian *Places* and gardens look much better by day-light. There were a great number of people, mostly of the lower class, and plenty of what is called amusement; Russian swings, round-abouts, martial representations, in which the French, of course, conquer all other nations ; eating and drinking, games of chance, petty rogueries, but no visible enthusiasm. Unhappily there appear to be few general stimulants to exertion for the sovereign people. Daily labour does not enable them to gain more than is absolutely necessary to supply their daily wants ; so that want and work are looked upon as two equally great evils. Many are entirely destitute of religious consolation, or turn doubtfully to false doctrines. *La gloire* is combined with evil doing ; the body is only roused by drinking, and the mind has its *petit verre* in single

crimes and its *grand goblet*, and revels in the émeute. C'est la force des circonstances, say the believers in historical fatalism.—Whither am I wandering, instead of cheerfully describing a fine moonlight evening and illuminations?

I had taken no pains to obtain a ticket to Notre Dame; partly because I thought that it would be in vain, and partly because I did not like to be shut up for at least five hours in the church. I thought it would be better to see how the people outside behaved; here I saw a great number of carriages, containing smart looking, but not handsome people. The carriages and horses, however, have not such an aristocratic look as in England, and a great number of mean hackney-coaches and cabriolets were among them. Will the King pass this way? said I, to several respectable persons; but they shrugged their shoulders and answered, "Monsieur, on n'en sait absolument rien." At length, a police officer gave me circumstantial information; and all the people, probably instructed in the same manner, repaired to the quay on the right bank of the Seine, and placed themselves in long lines. Nobody remained on the left bank; yet the crowd was not great. After waiting a very long time, in the burning sun, a gun was at length fired, and every one rejoiced at the prospect of being

released from his long expectation ; but, lo ! and behold, the King drove from the Tuileries, along the left bank, which was quite deserted ; at the same time the passage over all the bridges was closed, and we could not see any thing !! The French themselves appeared to be as angry and disappointed, at this premediated deception, as myself. Parched and wearied, I hastened to breakfast, and then threw myself quite exhausted upon my bed. I now write these few lines to you, and will read a little more of the essay “ Sur la Misère des Classes Ouvrières ;” though, properly speaking, I ought rather to write a chapter “ Sur la Misère des Rois.” Yet not of all. Such then, on the day of the christening of his grandson, was the situation of the chosen citizen King ; such the protecting police ; such the reciprocal feelings ; the results of fifty years’ efforts, of short joys and long sufferings. My spirits are so depressed, I cannot describe my feelings, nor will I attempt it, lest I should infect you : yet, blaming myself, I say, “ you see only the dark side, which happens to be turned towards you, and are in the wrong.”

Paris, May 3.

The fireworks, yesterday evening, were, in their way, much more beautiful than the illuminations of

the preceding evening; one might say, they were more French, inasmuch as there was a rapid succession of the most brilliant changes. There was, besides, an immense concourse of people; compared with which, that which had collected in the forenoon is not worth mentioning.

At a dinner, at Mr. A. M——'s, the conversation turned upon many interesting subjects; whether religion and politics could and should wholly coincide; on which I denied the hostile opposition of both, but called to mind the evils which had proceeded from the assumed equality of both. The greater part of the company appeared to consist of religious legitimists, who, in theory, are right, and invincible, if any abstract proposition could govern all men equally, and keep them to their duty. When pretended religious legitimists proceed in an irreligious and illegitimate manner, they become as dangerous and mischievous as the illegitimate advocates of arbitrary power. Facts then rise superior to both, and cast them into the resistless whirlpool of history. Some observations having been made upon Shakspeare, which would now be considered in Germany as quite absurd, a young Frenchman took the part of the great poet, with so much good sense and enthusiasm, that I ventured to express myself in French, and to

affirm that "les Commères" was a bad translation of the "Merry Wives of Windsor." If the anti-Shakspeareans are right, there is no such thing as poetry, and in writing, as well as in life, there remains, not the genuine style of elevated prose, but the dullest cockneyism, and the coarsest materialism. Tieck, said the above-mentioned young man, is in every respect contrary to the present French taste; his poetry is "du bleu, il on veut du noir." I observed that a dark side was not wanting, and Mr. A. mentioned the "Hexen Sabbath."

Tuesday, May 4.

I went, yesterday, to the Chamber of Deputies; but at an hour when the sitting ought to have long since begun, there were so few members present, that I plainly foresaw no interesting question would be brought forward. "The budget, said somebody, is the order of the day, which every one thinks tiresome." Now, when nobody has a mind to remain longer in Paris, and the political drama is at an end, every thing that the government proposes is granted without any contradiction.

I then went to —, who commenced the political conversation in such a high tone, that I was compelled to answer in a similar manner. "What

are you doing in Prussia?" said he; "you are asleep, you have no government; you desire to have nothing to do with the affairs of Europe; you only employ yourselves about such foolish things as railroads and the like." "If we were asleep in Germany, M. Thiers has waked us with his war-trumpet. We ought to erect a monument to his honour, for having revived and redoubled the energy of our public spirit." "Nobody here desired war; no nation in Europe is so quiet as the French; and it is absurd that you lay so much stress, in Germany, on the gossip and declamations of the journalists. Here, too, people are asleep." "We did not know, in Germany, that the President of the Council is only a journalist, who repeats or suggests what is said, or what he is to say. We certainly have one government, and it is vain to deny this; but here you have *embarras de richesses* Henry V. and Louis Philip, Thiers and Guizot, and the one calls the other ill-~~and~~ and silly. It would be happy for France if you would renounce what you call the affairs of Europe (which generally end in personal disputes), and would employ yourselves, as we do, about such foolish things as railroads; with respect to which, France is behind all other civilized nations." "You have no statesmen." "Unhappily they are not very numerous any where." "Your King says, Let me alone; I will concern myself only

about my own country, and govern it as well as possible. Bresson has scarcely a serious conference with M. Von W. once in two or three months.” “ The King has formed a perfectly correct idea of the main business of his life, and will not interfere in affairs which do not concern him ; but he has never had any idea of wholly isolating himself in Europe.” “ The policy of isolation is the only one suited to France.” “ It is impossible ; and if it were possible, it would still be absurd.” “ Do not you think that the fortification of Paris is one of the greatest of enterprises, which must have a decisive influence in the history of the world ?” “ No ; it would be infinitely wiser if the *faiseurs* here would renounce their dreams of conquest, and honestly and seriously ally themselves with Germany ; but you cannot even agree about the oxen, and *ex ungue leonem.*” “ You do not understand the matter about the oxen ; there are very different things in question.” [REDACTED] very easily understood it, when I had heard the partial, absurd report of M. Gasparin.” “ Instead of signing the treaty of July, Baron Bulow should have taken his departure, and washed his hands in innocence.” “ M. Thiers gave the same advice to Lord Palmerston, who did not listen to it.” After long discussion, he at length allowed, that Prussia had done its duty, and was on the road to natural improvement.

Paris, May 5.

Such are my amusements in this *capitale du monde*. You reply, that is your own fault. Of course, if I were a Parisian dandy, I should have other wishes and enjoyments. By way of encouragement, and to inspire greater modesty, I have just read, in the *Temps*, "Germany is nothing at all; it is a void space, a disunited, many-headed creature, without firmness, judgment, or power; and, consequently, no connection with this monster would be possible or useful. It is longing for its deliverance by revolutionary France." I should like to ask, Who, again, is here the prompter, M. Thiers or the writer in the *Temps*, or whether this dualism becomes unitarianism?

The police has so far succeeded in its efforts, that fewer unfortunate females are to be seen in the streets. But the improvement is only in appearance. Whereas they formerly lived separately, and, after an unprofitable day's work, sought to gain something by other means, they now live together by dozens, sunk into a depth of degradation which is beyond all conception, and treated by old women worse than brute beasts.

M. Mignet having kept me from thrashing empty straw, I was enabled to take the richest sheaves, and to gather more in a shorter time than would other-

wise have been possible. In this main point, therefore, through Mignet's great kindness, courtesy, and correct judgment, my stay in Paris has been made profitable, and I am perfectly satisfied; otherwise, I am afraid you will judge of me, as Madame de Maintenon did of Louis XIV., that it is a cheerless task to have to amuse a person, *qui n'est plus amusabile*. It is, however, not quite so bad as it seems, only every one has his own kind of amusement.

Friday, May 7.

Yesterday, between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon, G. had appointed for me to call and visit him, when many important matters were brought forward in a short time: the advantage and necessity of peace, the useless excitement by M. Thiers, the wish to come to an understanding with Germany, and, as a primary step, to make better commercial connections. I could assert, with truth, that every one among us wished to see this system established and consolidated. L. asserted that even those who were said to be friends of Thiers disapproved of his follies, and that none of them wished for war. *Utinam.* That his day was passed. Again I say, *Utinam.*

Having occasion to go, yesterday, to the *Archives*

du Royaume and to the police-office, I had an opportunity of seeing several parts of Paris which are seldom visited, and are frequently described as poor and ugly. It is true that in the narrow streets there is no appearance of the splendour of a great city; but much activity is every where visible, which in the end is perhaps more useful than many things that strike the eye by their magnificence. I drove along the Boulevards to the Place de la Bastille. The model of the Elephant still stands on dry land, and above it rises the pillar erected in honour of those who fell in July, 1830. It stands on blood, like the old Egyptian obelisk in the Place de la Concorde. What the one party designates an honour, is covered with shame by the other; what the one sets up, the other would gladly pull down. This alone necessarily excites conflicting feelings, in the contemplation of most of the monuments in Paris; and that of the good Henry IV., on the Pont Neuf, is almost the only one that is beheld with unmixed pleasure.

Saturday, May 8.

Visits and conversations made yesterday very agreeable and instructive. I saw, among other persons, Lenormant, the Duke de Luines, the Baron C. Dupin, Mignet, Chateaubriand, and dined at

M. von Arnim's, where I met Count Dohna, Prince Wittgenstein, Counsellor Mirbach of Cologne, &c.

Chateaubriand has still, in his old age, the vivacity and the expression of a man of genius ; Luines is well informed, understands German, is acquainted with the middle ages, and knows the advantages and the defects of the present age. With the latter he is by no means satisfied ; that is, inasmuch as Thiers pretends to be the representative of it. Charles Dupin gave me a treatise or lecture, called "Bienêtre et Concorde des Classes du Peuple Français," which he read chiefly before mechanics and citizens, at the time when Thiers blew the trumpet of war, and excited anarchists to strike for wages, &c. With commendable clearness and great courage, he combats such insane notions. By way of specimen, I extract the following passage :

" Les plus cruels ennemis de la France sont ceux qui, sans cesse excitent chez vous une passion mal éteinte, afin de vous rendre à tout prix, la soif des combats et du sang ; vos ennemis sont ceux qui, pour exaspérer vos courages, vous offrent soir et matin le fantôme d'agressions qu'ils fabriquent, et d'outrages qu'ils supposent. Ainsi l'on voit dans les arènes du Midi, des excitateurs à gages présenter au taureau

stupide et colère, des drapeaux rouges qui l'excitent à la mort,"—only on inevitable, urgent reasons for war, &c.

You see that this is as strong as possible, and has not failed to produce fruit. After having spoken to so *many* persons, and of such different ways of thinking, I must repeat that I have not found a single one, who approved the conduct and principles of Thiers, in advocating an offensive war. It is only on the surface, say they, that some motion appears; the great masses, and all reasonable people, desire peace, order, and tranquillity. The importance and the influence of the journals has greatly declined; only the Journal des Debats, the Constitutionnel, and the Gazette, take a more enlarged view and have a good sale. All the others are declining, and many journalists are starving. The deputies and the electors are not in the least influenced by the journals which they happen to read. M. Thiers, during his administration, set all his journals in motion, for an election in the vicinity of Paris, and yet obtained no more than about thirty-four votes out of six hundred! Properly speaking, Thiers commanded no journals, but was commanded and pressed by them. He thought to be invincible by the aid of public opinion; but had not perceived where it is

truly all-powerful. Many offices are still held by persons of the time of the empire, with all the prejudices and errors of those days; for instance, with respect to trade and taxes; in proportion as they die away and are succeeded by younger men of another stamp, numerous changes for the better will be made. Many real or pretended men of learning are seized with the desire to be heard, to co-operate in political affairs, and to obtain lucrative places; they forget that no man can serve two masters at the same time, and that their real power is lost, as soon as they forsake the sphere of learning, on which they stand. Guizot's position is a rare exception, to which very few can attain; and yet how uncertain and tottering is it. There are very few persons in the world who know what independence is, and who are sensible of its value; there are still fewer independent characters.

This evening I leave Paris, and perhaps again witness in England a remarkable change of the ministry. The moment the present ministry retires, it will gain in internal strength. I consider a reasonable solution of the great questions in corn, timber, and sugar, which shall at the same time be advantageous to all parties, by no means impossible; but it is very doubtful whether they will come to an understanding

this year. Our legislation and practice on corn and cattle is preferable to that of England and France ; and it is only with regard to sugar that we have taken a wrong course, as every body must now acknowledge.

London, May 11.

You see, by the date of this, that I have happily accomplished my journey from the *capitale du monde* to the Metropolis of the World. Instead of commencing with a wise dissertation, poetical, historical, or critical, on the great contrast between the two, I shall begin with a straightforward account of my journey.

The country from Paris to Boulogne is by no means beautiful and picturesque, in the higher sense of the term ; but it is well cultivated, now clothed in lively verdure, the apple trees are still in blossom, and some points of view are very pleasant. At four in the afternoon of the 9th, I arrived at Boulogne, walked about the thriving town, dined at the Hotel de l'Univers, and at midnight went on board the steamer for London, because the way by Dover would have cost a day and a half more time, and twice as much money. I soon perceived that the number of travellers far exceeded that of the beds ; but though

the steward at first opposed me, I took possession of one of them, and my example was followed by some French passengers. A short time before starting, some Englishmen, who had bespoken their berths, came on board, but having no proof at hand, not having affixed any ticket, as a sign of their being engaged, a great contest arose between the two nations, which the French carried on with their usual volubility; and the English, already half defeated by that alone, in very bad French; while I lay still and pretended to be asleep. The circumstance that no sign of occupation was to be found ticketed upon the berths was very forcibly alleged by the French, according to the custom of their theatres; and the English, in the recollection of their symbolical taking possession of entire countries, had not much to say in reply. Repeatedly exclaiming, “Messieurs, il n'y a pas de privilège,” the French kept possession and went to sleep. Very fortunately I was not asked any questions; and, therefore, with my eyes shut, I could not advance any new *point de vue*. The English lay down on the tables, or walked up and down on the deck over our heads, stamping their feet to keep them warm. To this inconvenience (the bed, too, was very bad), was added a second, the incessant crying of a child, for which I would willingly have recommended a well-known effectual medicine which a tender mother would not agree to give it.

Thursday, May 13.

* * * Yesterday I dined with Mr. H. at the Literary Fund Society, founded in 1790, for the relief of poor authors. The annual receipt and expenditure have gradually risen to £1800. The society has, however, endeavoured to form a capital, and therefore has not employed all its revenue for the above object. The interest already amounts to £800 a-year. Last year the following writers were relieved : in medicine, 2 ; history, 4 ; topography, 4 ; travels, 3 : law, 4 ; natural philosophy, 4 ; miscellaneous, 6 ; education, 7 ; poetry, the drama, and novels, 15 : numbers which might give occasion for many observations.

Monday, May 17.

My fiftieth birth-day, which I apprehended that I should pass (on the 14th) very lonely, became doubly agreeable and remarkable for me, because the Queen desired that I should be presented to her. Yesterday I drove by the fine road, bordered with elegant country houses, to Richmond ; for a distance of about eight miles, there is a harmonious mixture of town and country. The Star and Garter is one of the handsomest, best situated, and well-

arranged taverns in the world, and Mr. v. B—— undertook to escort me about. From the rising ground, there is a very extended prospect over meadows, woods, and water, to Windsor ; it is an ocean of verdure intersected with silver, crowned with villas, about which, elder, acacia, and guelder roses, &c. were in the most luxuriant bloom. In the rich meadows, the cattle were literally frolicking with wantonness.

Thursday, May 20.

Lord M——e told me that Thiers, while he was here, had said, that in two or three years France would have three thousand miles of rail-way. When his attention was called to the great difficulties and expenses of these undertakings, even in England, he replied, “with us that is quite another matter : France prosecutes and completes every thing on a grand scale.”—He has certainly made debts on a grand scale.

Saturday, May 22.

The Queen’s birth-day was kept yesterday, though it was not actually her natal day. The presentations were in the same manner as I have described in 1836 ; the number of ladies and gen-

lemen present, or rather passing, was immense, so that the procession continued several hours. The gentlemen were almost all in uniform; the Turkish ambassador alone was in the quasi fancy-dress with which you are acquainted, that is to say, in a blue great coat buttoned up to the chin. The Speaker of the House of Commons was distinguished in a totally different manner; he is a very handsome man, the tallest person present, and was dressed in a long black silk robe, embroidered with gold. He arrived in a coach covered with gold, with large plate-glass windows, an officer going before with a gold sceptre (to which our University gold sceptres are dwarfs); a train-bearer, in court dress, assisting him to alight, and bearing his train; while at his side, other officers attended. As Lord M—— had twice invited me, and I was engaged on both occasions, I asked him in general for advice; and he answered—"the previous engagement makes it impossible to accept a subsequent one from any body, even the highest; only members of the Royal Family and the *Speaker* command; and if I, as one of the King's ministers, have accepted the *Speaker's* invitation, the rule is even to refuse the King."

The ladies were all in dresses of the most various materials, hues, and embroidery; there were many slight differences in the head-dress, but none without

feathers, chiefly white. Many appeared to be more troubled with their long, unaccustomed train, than I was with my short sword; of course, all could not be in the bloom of youth, for mothers came with their daughters: yet the race (*sit venia verbo*) is beautiful. * * * *

After having driven the German vagrants out of the field, a Frenchman entered my room, yesterday, with whom I had the following conversation. Monsieur! je ne parle pas Anglais; mais vous parlez certainement Français—Non—Non? c'est étonnant, vous êtes de Berlin? Oui. Vous parlez donc Allemand? Non. Mais par dieu quelle langue parlez vous donc? L'Anglais. Je suis beaucoup connu de M. de Humboldt; vous connaissez M. de Humboldt? Non. Permettez vous de vous expliquez mes affaires? Non.—Dois-je revenir une autre fois? Non. * * *

Monday, May 24.

Yesterday, I was reminded that it was Sunday, by having stale bread for breakfast. In the afternoon, the weather being fine, but sultry, I strolled through Hyde Park, but found, among the mass of male pedestrians, nothing extraordinary in respect of dress; no enormous beards as in Paris; and the females were by no means handsomer than those whom

we see in our public walks on a Sunday. There were no ladies on horseback, probably because it was Sunday. Many things in London are exactly as they were six years ago; others are changed. For instance, the cabs in use at that time have wholly disappeared, and are succeeded by new ones, for two persons. They hang very low, are in the shape of sedan-chairs, with a door on each side, and the driver sits on a box in front. They afford a much better protection against wind and rain than the old ones. The shortest fare is eightpence, and the price increases in proportion to the distance. In the omnibus, the fare is still only sixpence for very considerable distances.

London, May 30.

I wrote that all here is quiet; and this is perfectly correct, if we compare it with French ministerial changes, where war or peace, the expulsion of reigning families, the overthrow of the constitution, &c. are involved; while here people get warm about a change in the tariff of customs, which, however, has often been changed. This warmth, therefore, does not involve danger of life, hence, in spite of the declamations of the journals, internal tranquillity and confidence prevail. On the other hand, the crisis

is nothing less than indifferent ; for if the one party erroneously reckons on cheap bread, and the other erroneously fears the ruin of the agriculturist, the progress towards freer trade, or hostile exclusion, is in question ; and in the former I see the greatest and most essential guarantee for the preservation of peace. The fall of the French tariff, for instance, would deprive the war party of one of its main supports ; and a more constant intercourse with Germany would make peace necessary, for many additional reasons.

Again, this crisis, and the approaching dissolution of Parliament, lead, in individual cases, to many changes and interruptions ; for instance, in buying and selling, letting houses, in parties, fêtes, shortening what is called the season, &c.

Tuesday, June 1.

* * * Yesterday, while I was engaged at the Athenæum, a loud noise attracted me to the window : I saw a long procession of children. They were going, I know not whither, to have a treat and kind of breakfast, at the expense of a society ; whose object is to keep them from strolling out of the city and taking part in idle amusements. Setting aside the buzzing of their voices, there was no sign

whatever of what may be called amusement. Soon afterwards a much greater noise arose—it was the teetotalists. At the head of the procession was carried a flag, perhaps thirty feet long, and as many broad, with the Virgin and a suitable inscription; then came a train; O'Connell, with three other Irishmen, decked out with broad green ribbons, in a carriage, drawn by six magnificent greys, followed, with loud acclamations. In the City, to which the procession was proceeding, the number of members had become countless. If the duty on spirits in Ireland has declined by £500,000, the merit or the fault is not to be attributed to the ministers.

Mr. Hayward, the lawyer, told me that there was not a syllable of truth in the account which Gans gave of his interview with Bentham; that he, Mr. Hayward, had told Gans that Bentham was an old man, who expected vain, empty adulation, and could not bear any contradiction; but that, instead of attending to this, Gans had vehemently disputed, to the great vexation of the old gentleman. The arrogant old man, who treats Plato and Aristotle as schoolboys, was, however,^{*} well served.

I find jest and earnest, sagacity, wit and impertinence, all mingled together in a book, which Mr. H. gave me at parting, called *The World* in 1840. “Germany is a fine model of the *vis inertiae*.” Of

Italy it is said, “ Italy resembles one of its own old countesses still talking of her youthful conquests, and wearying the world with the history of her charms. The Italian government attracts notice, only as their singers, who acquired a voice by being as unlike men as possible. Fiddlers and dancers are, with them, the shining lights of the earth ; balls and operas, the supreme glory of mankind ; billiards and billets-doux, the happiest arts of civilization ; and maccaroni and moonshine, the grand essentials of existence.” “ The Swiss have spent the year in perpetual strife on the model of the war of the pygmies and cranes. The subject of those contests is too obscure to be discovered, even by the minute curiosity of the journals. But Switzerland is one of the coldest countries of the earth ; and domestic quarrels may be useful, in the absence of other modes, of warming the frost-bitten people. They have certainly found out the art of disputing about straws ; throwing away time, and embittering their little lives beyond any people at present in existence. On the strength of their verbiage, Swiss demagogues rise into village renown ; but if they are in earnest about reform, let them reform their inn-keepers, proverbially the most grasping vintners in Europe.”

I read on, and find such amusing things, that, though I am so pressed for time, I must send you

some specimens :—“ May 1, 1840. The Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt founded a new order of knighthood. The man is an unlucky one indeed in Germany who cannot show a scrap of ribband or a star of the size of a sixpence, and about its value, at his button-hole.” “ June 6. The Chinese sent down a squadron of paper lanterns to burn the British frigates, blockading one of their rivers. The English sailors threw water from their tea-cups on the foremost, and blew out the rest with their tobacco-pipes.” In the midst of a long tirade against the Quakers, it is said, “ The Quaker thinks that every colour but drab is profane ; yet the sky is blue, the earth green, and the garden glows in every colour of the rainbow ; and, in spite of the dogmas of George Fox, the only drab-coloured material on the globe is mire, and the only animal that enjoys it, *except* the Quaker, is the pig.” “ August 10. A public meeting, held at Birmingham, with a vast deal of haranguing ; the main figure of speech being that Lord Palmerston had betrayed England to Russia. The men of Birmingham, being men of practical notions, asked what his lordship had got by it ? Some were of opinion that the price was a barrel of herrings, cured for the Emperor’s private table ; others, that it was a dozen of handkerchiefs marked with his name by the needle of the Empress ; others that it was the promise of a *tabatière*, turned

by the Grand Duke, and to be sent, when his lordship considered himself old enough to take snuff; the more general opinion being that it was a cargo of sour crout, and the loan of one of the imperial chamberlains to teach him to eat it. As the question could not be answered, the Birmingham men saw no further use in the inquiry, and the accused nobleman was suffered to remain in her Majesty's council. The French, and M. Thiers in particular, are very frequently, and with peculiar bitterness, taken to task. "The capture of Acre will show that if England bore insult calmly, it was not for want of heroes; and if she sought peace, it was not for want of power. We wish only that those invincible heroes, the war-proclaiming journals of Paris, with M. Thiers for their trumpeter or buffoon, had been standing on the ramparts of St. Jean d'Acre on the 3rd of November. The scene would have added something to their experience, if nothing to their wisdom. M. Thiers, if he had not been swept where braggarts are no more noisy than brave men, would have found new figures for his exhausted oratory; and his brother journalists and tools would have found that it was pleasanter to traffic in taunts than to face danger, and much safer to practise on English contempt, across the Channel, than to meet English cannon on sea or shore. If the bones of their idol, Napoleon, could speak, he would

give them the same lesson ; and it would well repay the strong absurdity of their bringing back the relics of a British prisoner, to transform them into a memorial of national heroism. We hope that the warriors of the ink-stand will now allow England to live."

" It is not to be supposed that M. Thiers desired war, or that he desired any thing but to fix himself on the height to which he had been thrown up in the explosion of the monarchy. His wish *must* have been to avoid every movement that could expose his infirm footing to the blasts which so incessantly blow round the pinnacles of power ; but the party would not suffer this. They had created him, and he must do their will. Out of the clay of the streets they have fabricated him into a piece of gilded pottery, with the royal stamp upon it. They had found him a shrivelled scribbler ; with the fumes from their cauldron they had swelled him into a minister ; and they were determined that their inflation should not be thrown away ; their official man of gas must not escape beyond the length of cord in their hands. Thus M. Thiers was compelled to be a warrior ; thus the voice of the little minister was trumpeled daily through a hundred journals ; thus he was forced to strut, in pasteboard armour, before Europe, to make giants and to kill them with remorseless heroism. Under this diversity of impulse, his course must, of

necessity, have been diverse. The rifle ball may go the more direct for the spiral of the barrel ; but the path of the political pedlar, continually crossed by the political highwayman, must be perpetual obliquity.” “ The Thiers school of statesmen spring up like mushrooms, the moment that the first heat penetrates the rank and corrupting soil. They are the ready evil of all lands ; the original weedy infliction of nature, covering the soil with unwholesome luxuriance and prickly produce, to be kept down only by useful culture, and at once punishing the indolence and compelling the labour of society. The generation of the Thiers politicians is infinite and everywhere ; it can no more be exhausted than frogs in Holland ; but the wisdom of kings cannot be too vigorously exerted in preventing the progeny of the swamp from being the live-stock of the soil, and prohibiting the grotesque and loathsome fertility of nature from invading royal chambers and swelling into an Egyptian plague.”

Thus far my extracts and specimens. I will here add a couple of half-Asiatic anecdotes. A Hindoo, acquainted with the English language, heard an Englishman ask very eagerly, in the House of Commons, how great the majority will be ? and the party questioned, replies, doubtless six. Why, says the Hindoo, if the issue is so certain, do they not vote first, and

talk afterwards as much as they like?" A Persian Prince was presented to the Duke of Sussex, who, having soon to undergo an operation for his eyes, had a shade over them "Aha," says the Persian, "his brother has had his eyes put out." He was taken to St. Paul's to witness the festival of the meeting of the charity children: "Are all these," says the Persian, "the King's own children?" The Persian himself had about 700 brothers and sisters.

Friday, 11th of June.

History shews that it is not sufficient for a man to be satisfied with himself and his party; and this truth strikes me, in London, more forcibly than ever. It is very easy to praise or abuse Whigs, or Tories, or Radicals, &c. but when I hear or speak to Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Monteagle, Sir Robert Inglis, Dr. Bowring, &c. one after the other; when I read the multitudes of writings which proceed from different points of view, and arrive at different results: I am unable to absolve, or condemn off hand: the far more elevated and more difficult task is, to do justice to every person and every opinion, to acknowledge the value and the necessity of each, and to discover the dispensation of God in earthly discord. On two most important subjects, the corn question, and the religious disputes in Scotland, I have been

obliged to undergo a real ordeal, and, as it were, to annihilate myself, in order not to lay any false weight in either scale ; and I hope that, when I have leisure, I shall be able to represent these matters in this unprejudiced, moderate spirit. * * * * *

Saturday, 12th of June.

* * * * * The lady who sat next to me, complained that, in Germany, the young ladies generally sat altogether, and were too frequently engaged in trifling conversation, while the young men, on the other hand, neglected them, and seemed to be scarcely sensible of their presence. The observation was but too correct ; so that I could only reply, that there were exceptions, and I, for my own part, had never been guilty of such conduct. * * * *

Monday, 14th of June.

* * * * * At four o'clock. in the afternoon, I went with Mr. H. to the Zoological Gardens, where the flowers look to greater advantage than the animals ; and, among the animals, the birds better than the quadrupeds ; of the larger animals, the elephant and the rhinoceros appeared the most clumsy and ugly ; the young giraffe had already a neck seven feet long. I am surprised that nobody takes offence

at those abominable creatures, the monkeys. I have no predilection for any sort of animals, except elegant little birds ; however, a horse is to a rhinoceros, what an Apollo is to an Albino. * * * *

Tuesday, 15th of June.

* * * * The elections are now setting the country in motion. This agitation, however, is necessary and useful to the English ; every instance of insolence and exaggeration soon meets with a contradiction, and all the unavoidable windings and turnings lead in the end to a clearer view of things, and bring people nearer to the truth. Notwithstanding all the pretended vivacity of the French, a French election has no animation at all, in comparison with an English one. Long-standing irregularities have, by the confession of all parties, been remedied by the Reform Bill, by which the body of the electors is divided into small parties, and the election is finished in two days ; formerly it continued fourteen, and the excitement of the thousands concerned, daily increased.

Thursday, 17th of June.

Yesterday I had no less than five invitations, of which I accepted that of Mr. Murray to a Booksellers' dinner at Greenwich. This very praiseworthy society, founded in 1837, collects considerable sums for poor members and their families. It is one of the many proofs of the inclination and the ability to accomplish useful objects in England by means of such societies. The weather was fine and the excursion by the steamer very pleasant. About 250 persons sat down to dinner in a handsome saloon. The table was particularly well supplied with fish of all kinds. I was not behind hand in doing justice to the good things before me, found the light Moselle excellent, and enjoyed the view of the Thames, on which, as the tide rose, great numbers of ships passed swiftly by, on their way to London. Thus I was perfectly well, both in body and mind, when a side glance at the order of the day, which lay before the chairman, suddenly shewed me what a sword of Damocles hung over my head—my health was soon afterwards proposed, and I don't know whether the loud applause (to which one must get accustomed) encouraged or discouraged me. However, I was forced to make

a speech in English, and tried to put two or three thoughts together. I said that, to return thanks in English as I could wish, was not possible ; that I considered the honor done me, in drinking my health, not as a compliment to myself, personally, but to my character as an author, and that the gentlemen meant to shew they did not participate in the opinion of those who considered booksellers and authors to be natural enemies : that like agriculturists and manufacturers, and like man and wife, they might sometimes quarrel ; but when the moment of excitement and passion was past, acknowledged that they had the same interests, and were inseparable. I then spoke of the literary intercourse between England and Germany, that we took a duty of 1s. 6d. only per cwt. on books, while the English take between £4 and £5, and that this should be altered. On the other hand, the English complained that we pirated their works : the fault, however, I said, lay with themselves, because they wrote so many books that were worth pirating ; that, however, a change would be made in the legislation in Germany, if the English would consider that poor men of learning in Germany could not afford to lay out so much money in the purchase of books, as is here paid for poor-rates. This was the sum

and substance of my speech. I concluded: therefore good harmony between booksellers and authors, no literary discriminating duties, and cheap editions for Germany.

Friday, June 18.

* * * * * * * Standing on the ground of many who call themselves legitimists and conservatives, I will prove that all the English institutions are absurd and scandalous. Or is it no scandal that the will and the wish of a wise and a well-disposed Queen, does not weigh as much as the one vote in the House of Commons of a sheep breeder or a wool spinner, against her ministers? That such men as Peel and Russell should be obliged to repeat their lesson on the hustings, before tag-rag and bob-tail, and submit their political creed to their superior judgment? That the students should dare, in the presence of the husband of their Queen, to groan at the highest officer of the state? (What would R. say to this!) That the parties abuse each other in the grossest manner in public, uncensured journals? Yet all these are mere bubbles, which break on the surface, and dissolve into foam. At a greater depth, there is a mass of thought, feeling, and intellectual ability; a bold and generous education: a security for peace,

whether the ministers remain, or whether they go out; great respect for the rights of the sovereign; love for their common country; constant and steady progress; social and political life and energy in the whole people.

Sunday, June 20.

* * * * * * * * * In a theological controversial pamphlet, by Sayer, against Sidney Smith, I found the following passage, which shews that certain disorders of female writers occur in different countries. The English is so peculiar, that I will not attempt to translate it. "A lady, from 'incompatibilité des moeurs,' is obliged to live by herself. In her solitude she gets rabid, and writes a book: she makes her husband the hero of the novel, she libels her friends, scandalizes her relations, tell the secrets of half-a-dozen families, and lo! her book, in a very few short weeks,—nay, days,—is out of print. She is courted by the publishers, petted by the reviewers, and becomes the lion of the season.

Friday, June 25.

* * * * * On Tuesday, I saw the Queen go in procession to Parliament. She looked well and cheerful, though, perhaps, somewhat heavy at heart. A constitutional sovereign must learn to turn and gallop to the right and to the left; fresh horses are ready on both sides: even the leader of a party cannot stand here on his own legs; but it is considered meritorious to support himself on those of others, or for his head to be moved forwards, as in serpents, by the tail; thus, Russell and Peel would probably have agreed together, whereas they must now stand in hostile opposition to each other; from which much good, though at the same time certainly much evil, arises.

The dissolution of the Parliament was constitutional and necessary. The whole country is now in motion on account of the elections; undoubtedly there is no want of scandalous misrepresentations, lies, calumnies, and bribery; the sum total spent and received (lawfully and unlawfully) may amount to ten million dollars, above a million and a half sterling. The mob throws stones, fights with bludgeons, breaks windows, &c. in short, an English parliamentary election furnishes the high Tories of the Continent an entire magazine to build temples in honour of their absolutism, and, at the same time, to adorn

them with ridicule and all sorts of anecdotes. Every misrepresentation, falsehood, &c. immediately meets with a refutation from the other party ; every conceit, an answer ; every blow, another in return ; and thus all is brought to an equilibrium again. On the other hand, however, a number of important objects are placed in every variety of light ; the sagacity of every one put to the proof ; thoughts elicited, exertions supported, money lavishly expended, by the rich, to give the electors a kind of compensation, and to grant saturnalia. It requires a high degree of culture to desire to give and to make use of such political festivals ; he who feels neither a taste nor a desire for them, should stay away, and rejoice that the calm current of his life is not troubled by such excitement. He who has the desire, but not the necessary understanding and steadiness, easily plunges himself and others into ruin by rash political attempts. One might spend a whole year in reading what is spoken and printed, at this time, about politics, and the loudest tones are probably heard beyond the ocean, till all meet again in one House of Commons, and the government proceeds quietly with the same or another ministry, in the identical, or, at least, not very different manner.

However, to set before you something quite fresh, I send you the following document, of which innu-

merable copies are in circulation, “The Tories against Lord John Russell!” “Electors of London, don’t be deceived. Read, compare, and judge. Which party has voluntarily reduced the taxes? Not the Tory party. They say: in the years 1816 to 1830, we took off taxes to the amount of fifteen millions. Recollect, however, that this was in the first years of peace, and the taxes were war taxes, which they could not retain. The questions are, first, did they speedily abolish taxes? secondly, did they abolish them voluntarily? Neither the one nor the other. In the first six years of peace they retained all the former burthens; and when they were compelled by their opponents to make some retrenchments, they took off only such taxes as affected themselves and their friends. Thereupon the Tories declared that a parliamentary reform was an absurdity, and further retrenchment impossible. Lord John Russell and his friends, supported by the voice of the people, extorted from the Tories a remission of part of the burthens of war. When, after fifteen years of peace, Lord Grey, Lord Melbourne, and Lord J. Russell, as distinguished leaders, were called to the administration, they effected the following retrenchments and reductions of expenses.

Taxes abolished.....	£6,373,000
Expenditure reduced.....	3,471,000

Saved by the abolition of 1558,	
unnecessary places.....	259,000
2000 other offices abolished.....	369,000
Reduction of the salaries of mi-	
nisters, chancellors, judges,	
and officers, who received	
salaries above £1000.....	199,000
Ditto of ambassadors, &c.	50,000

“ Besides this, useless commissioners and boards were abolished, and other savings effected ; the taxes on houses, books, advertisements, insurances, warehouses, coals, soap; postage, &c. were abolished or reduced : and all this was done, though the Tories had imposed on the country immense debts, and declared all further retrenchment to be impossible. What have the Tories done for the country ? They found a national debt of two hundred and sixty millions, and increased it to eight hundred ; they found an annual expenditure of twenty millions, and increased it to fifty. They spent, for sanguinary wars and party objects, the enormous sum of fifteen hundred millions. In what condition did the Tories leave the country in the year 1830 ? Let the following extract tell : ‘ Every night the horizon was reddened by the flames of incendiary fires. Corn magazines, barns, warehouses, cattle, were indiscriminately burnt. More daring bands attacked the mills and

destroyed the machines. There appeared to be no longer any protection for property. (I pass over the remainder of the deplorable description of the state of things at that time.)' Such was the beginning, the middle, and the end of the Tory administration. Remember what Lord John Russell has done for the country! He and his friends abolished the rotten boroughs, and reformed the House of Commons; whereas the Tories refused the right of sending members to Parliament for such towns as Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham. They abolished slavery in the British colonies; they promoted, as far as the Tories did not hinder them, the education of the people; they favoured civil and religious liberty, and abolished the Test and Corporation Acts; they gave us a better Municipal Law; they governed Ireland in peace, and improved the condition of that country; they put an end to the monopoly of the East India Company, and regulated the affairs of the Bank; they gave us cheap postage and cheap newspapers; they established peace in Canada; conquered in the East and in the Mediterranean; preserved peace with France, under such difficult circumstances that most persons thought it to be impossible, and accomplished this in a manner which did honour to themselves and to their country; they suppressed disturbances in the country, without having recourse to

arbitrary measures, solely by the power of the existing laws. These are their great and glorious deeds. One thing alone remains to be established, *Free Trade*. Electors of London, let us vote for the four candidates, Wood, Crawford, Pattison, and Russell. They have engaged to support wholesome measures, which will give the people FULL EMPLOYMENT AND CHEAP BREAD!!!”

Such is a specimen of these popular manifestos. The Tory manifesto, in No. cxxxv of the Quarterly Review, is not quite so moderate and polite: it speaks of perfidy, folly, the unparalleled weakness of the ministers, &c. not without adroitness, which, however, should never be employed for party objects, at the expense of truth. Uncommon perspicacity and freedom from prejudice are requisite to separate error from such sophistical representations.

Sunday, June 27.

* * * * The approaching elections set every thing in motion; from the fellows who go about the streets covered with large placards, to the preparatory meetings of many thousand persons. On the placards are the names of the candidates, generally accompanied with their praises, and *reproaches of the opposite party*. *These matters are*

exhibited more at length on vehicles, which resemble enormous wooden chests, covered all over with speeches, short sentences, addresses, symbols, &c. Flags are displayed from the windows ; and doors, windows, and walls, placarded in a similar manner, indicate the committee-rooms. Sometimes two houses, directly opposite each other, like two hostile camps, present, in a brief compendium, and with the greatest and boldest publicity, every thing that may be said for and against the plans and the actions of the ministry and its adversaries. I should have liked to copy all sorts of curiosa from this thesaurus inscriptionum ; but there was constantly a crowd of people who wanted to read, and did not allow me time to write. If —— were to see this publicity, he, and all the Privy-councillors sitting at the Board of Green Cloth, would have an apoplectic fit ; nay, all those who conceive, that the nameless, curtailed publication of the discussions, in our provincial assemblies is the non plus ultra, would be as frightened by these English movements, as old women, if they were suddenly taken from their easy-chairs and whirled away on a rail-road. I must here copy K——'s words ; they hit the right nail on the head. “When Whigs and Tories are disputing about the corn-laws and the sugar question, the mistaken party may perchance get the better, but the people learn so much from the strug-

gle, that the light penetrates and disperses the cloud, and on some occasion, which cannot be distant, truth will prevail. Among us, no such process has yet begun, from the composition of our provincial assemblies and the restrictions on the elections."

When I compare the present views, and reasonings, and conclusions, with those which were formerly expressed here, the progress indicated by K—— is surprisingly great ; whence again it follows, that the final triumph of truth and the benefit of both parties are quietly waited for, and confidently expected. Thus I am convinced, that in the new elections, the Tories, for the reasons I have already stated, will have the majority ; but they are already driven, by all these movements, from their former position to a new one ; and Sir Robert Peel acknowledged, a few years ago, that, on some occasions, the statesman must not only count the votes, but weigh the influences in the back-ground, and act accordingly. * * * * The gravity of the moment also gives people occasion to make a ludicrous use of it. Yesterday, I saw, in Oxford Street, thirty or forty fellows, with immensely large placards before and behind, following each other in slow procession ; I supposed that they were carrying some political squib, and went up to examine it. It was as follows :—“ Electors and non-electors of

London. Who sells the cheapest clothes? Who has reduced the prices of waistcoats and trousers forty per cent.? Moses and Co. in the Minories."

Tuesday, June 29.

* * * I will give you some other extracts from these manifestoes.

A very large placard has the following address:—"People of Great Britain! Now or never! Exert yourselves for cheap bread, low taxes, moderate rents, cheap sugar, and free-trade with the whole world, for plenty of work and abundance, against monopoly prices, new taxes, and the abolition of the penny postage." A second placard is headed, "Fine examples of the blessings of Toryism." It contains a statement of the increase of the taxes and national debt under their government, and concludes with the words:—"A Tory writer may well say, nobody knows the real amount of the national debt; but I say those who pay, have a right to ask, why they are still so highly taxed, &c." Some shew their zeal in verses; a poem, published yesterday, by the "Times," called Lord John's Welcome, is as follows:—

"Who, with electioneering fuss,
Sends round to beg our votes of us,
Yet calleth us fools before, or worse?
John Russell"

" Who talks, with senatorial rage,
 About the freedom of the age,
 But put our Sheriffs in a cage ? "

John Russell.

" Who makes a fume about cheap bread,
 But when the poor should have been fed,
 Gave them the Poor-law Bill instead ? "

John Russell.

" Who, careless where his measures tend,
 Goes on reforming without end,
 And mars the laws he cannot mend ? "

John Russell.

" Who loves in Parliament to prate
 About the wisdom of the state,
 And yet made Frost a magistrate ? "

John Russell.

" And thus disloyal to the Crown,
 Who was it brought the Chartist down
 Like locusts upon Newport town ? "

John Russell.

" If such a Statesman swore and vowed
 To represent us he'd be proud ;
 Who would not say, go back to Stroud,
 John Russell ? "

I add some other specimens.

" A NEW SONG.

" Londoners, who proudly claim
 Your place in Britain's story,
 Vindicate your ancient fame !
 Up, up, and strike the Tory !

“ By Manchester’s detested field,
 With murder stained and gory,
 Make the old oppressor yield !
 Up, up, and strike the Tory !

“ Patriots ! to the combat fly,
 Both youth and age so hoary,
 And be this your battle cry :
 Up, up, and strike the Tory ! ”

“ Now for freedom’s holy cause,
 For England’s weal and glory,
 For England’s Queen and England’s laws,
 Up, Up, and strike the Tory ! ”

The following verses are taken from a satirical poem, called

“ THE BREAD-FRUIT TREE.

“ How little, said they (the Tories), the thoughtless poor
 Can know what the suffering rich endure,
 In bringing up dozens of young grandees ;
 In paying off horrible mortgagees ;
 To say nothing of assignees, lessees,
 And an endless quantity more of these
 Uneasy things that end in e’ees ;
 And though (as honest Figaro says)
 ‘ If a gentleman owes and never pays,
 It is just the same, be it great or small,
 As if he, in fact, owed nothing at all ’ ”

From a poem headed

" HURRAH! FOR THE QUEEN! CHEAP BREAD !

Tune.—Bow, wow, wow.

" For fifty years they (the Tories) kept in place, and ruled with iron-hand, sirs,
And almost brought to misery our once-famed, happy land, sirs :
With Gagging Acts, Coercion Laws, and Spies, they flourished gaily,
And hung the Swinish Multitude, by scores, at the Old Bailey !

Bow, wow, wow,

What leary game the Tories play,
Bow, wow, wow.

" And though of power they are depriv'd, they are still on mischief bent, sirs,
To insult and rule our Gracious Queen had long been their intent, sirs,
And oft as Government brings forth some salutary thing,
They still deny to give us bread, and show a scorpion's sting.

Bow, wow, wow,

What leary game the Tories play,
Bow, wow, wow.

" To us our Sovereign now appeals ! shall she appeal in vain, sirs ?
No ! let us rally round her throne, with all our might and main, sirs !
Let's show them, their deceitful arts are stripped of all disguise,
And, to their tricks, the people now look on with open eyes.

Bow, wow, wow,

What leary game the Tories play,
Bow, wow, wow."

" POOR VOTER'S SONG.

" AGAINST AN OFFER OF BRIBERY.

" A Vote is a trust which we have no more right to barter for our own Interests, than a Juror has to sell his Verdict."

" They knew that I was poor,
And they thought that I was base,
And would in reality endure
To be covered with disgrace ;

They judged me of their tribe,
 Who on dirty Mammon dote;
 So they offered me a bribe
 For my Vote, boys, vote.
 O shame upon my betters,
 Who would my conscience buy?
 But shall I wear their fetters?
 Not I indeed, not I! &c.

“ No, no—I’ll hold my vote,
 As a treasure and a trust;
 My dishonour none shall quote
 When I am mingled with the dust:
 And my children, when I’m gone,
 Shall be strengthened by the thought,
 That their father was not one
 To be bought, boys, bought.
 O shame upon my betters,
 Who would my conscience buy!
 But shall I wear their fetters?
 Not I indeed, not I!” &c.

Invitations to a funeral were issued on printed cards with emblems;—“Gentlemen! Your company is particularly requested at Guildhall on Wednesday next, June 30, 1841, to attend the political interment of the Tory Candidates; who, after many desperate attempts (by tricks and impositions upon their fellow citizens) to obtain command of the good ship Britannia, have at length foundered, and for ever sunk in the fatal sea of Peel Corruption. Alas, poor Tories!”

On the first day (the nomination day), the candidates appear, and are presented to the electors; the

election and voting, if there is an opposition, does not begin till the day following. By the kindness of Mr. Senior, I received from Mr. Prescott, the banker, a ticket for the platform in Guildhall, where the principal assembly for the city is held. Yesterday, there was a great crowd, who seemed much interested, collected in the street, so that, without the protection of Mr. Tuke, I should scarcely have been able to get into the hall.

There were large flags ornamented with inscriptions and symbols ; fellows with placards before and behind ; others, again, had put themselves into casks, for it was raining hard, and the outside of this water-proof, wooden cloak was covered with political squibs. Very large and very small loaves of bread, and of sugar, were carried on high poles, and pictures of well-fed and starved people illustrated the doctrines of monopoly and free trade. The handsome Hall, equal in extent to a large church, was filled with many thousand persons, so that it looked like a pavement of heads, and every motion in the dense mass was propagated like the waves of the sea. It was not much better on the platform erected at the end of the Hall, where the officers, some persons specially invited, and the candidates themselves, had their places, and afterwards made their speeches from a projecting stage.

Even at the entrance, the noise was great, and one man especially attracted notice, who, standing higher than the rest, with extravagant violence and an exceedingly hoarse voice, abused equally the Whigs and the Tories. He was an ex-captain, who had been dismissed for improper conduct; an ultra-radical or Chartist. The people let him vociferate; my conjecture that when the speeches of the candidates and their friends began, there would be less noise, proved to be entirely erroneous. The moment that the speeches began, the noise increased to such a degree, that I, though not a room's length from the speakers, did not hear or understand a single word. The power and effect of eloquence is quite out of the question. The speeches may be read to-day in the newspapers. It is totally impossible to form any idea, *a priori*, of this noise, and this kind of noise; it exceeds in violence and variety every thing that can be imagined: speaking, crying, huzzaing, groaning, screaming, whistling, hissing, clapping, barking, stamping, mewing, waving of hats, caps, gloves, pocket handkerchiefs, sticks, and umbrellas. Tremendous is the proper adjective; but even the intervals of pianissimo would appear tremendous to you: and the fortissimo increased in an incredible degree when Lord John Russell came forward, he being the most important candidate to friends and foes.

If certain persons in office, on the Continent, had seen and heard all this, their own ruin and that of the state and the world, would have appeared to them beyond all doubt; here the few police-officers who were present remained perfectly quiet, and waited for the end, when all became as still as themselves. One can scarcely conceive how the taciturn English can bear this exertion for hours together: no other people could endure to put their lungs to such a proof. Many, it is true, appeared to have been hired and plied with drink; at least, the rabble were the most persevering, and held up the longest their unwashed hands, torn sleeves, and dirty caps: otherwise, all passed off in a good-humoured and friendly manner. Even on the platform, where the company was more select, some cried "hurrah!" with Stentorian voices; their next neighbours groaned and screamed in a still more frightful manner, with sounds such as I had never heard, and which I could not attempt to imitate, for fear of being hoarse all my life. The principal actors in the scene could not help laughing at these exhibitions. More comic scenes passed in the body of the Hall. While a Whig orator was exerting himself, a fellow got upon the shoulders of another, and thrust in his face a large printed bill with the words "Poor Law" on it; in a similar manner, small loaves and pictures of starved people were shown to the

Tories. The above-mentioned Radical or Chartist amused himself and others in the manner of Aristophanes; in reference, probably, to the character of the candidates, he mimicked their manner; he wrote, counted money, took snuff, smoked cigars. When the speaker made very large promises, and the noise went on *crescendo*, he held both his hands stretched out before his face, and turned to the assembly on the right and left: at last, he made a kind of doll of his pocket-handkerchief, which very cleverly imitated and mimicked all the movements of the speaker.

When the speeches were over, the chairman, mentioning the names of the several candidates, called on all the persons present who approved of them to hold up their hands. This being done, he declared that the show of hands was in favour of the four Whig candidates. There was indeed no doubt of this; and again there were, beyond comparison, more who declared for Lord John Russell than for any of the other candidates; but as these persons are not all electors, though many of the latter were present, a regular poll is of course demanded, which commenced this forenoon, but the result of which is not yet known.

Many may perhaps ask, what is the use of all this scandal; why not be content with a regular, quiet election? The quietest of all is the ballot, and yet

I think it to be the worst. The great nomination-day appears to me to be very salutary. Those who were not permitted to join in voting to-day were at least at liberty to join in the noise yesterday. They have lightened their hearts, have loudly expressed their approbation or their disapprobation ; they have been allowed to throw off their bad humours, and thus they are for the present qualified, without the right of universal suffrage, by the universal right of bawling. It is a harmless, and yet not unimportant, democratic element, opposed to the greater weights of the aristocratic element, as a neighbour with good advice, as a friendly hint.

I have just returned from the City ; each party has polled pretty nearly an equal number of votes, and the final result is the more uncertain, because on ordinary occasions a third part of the electors, for various reasons, don't vote ; but this occasion being very important, the number of those who come to the poll will probably be much greater.

Sir Robert Peel, in his speech which he has just delivered at Tamworth, points to the necessity of forming a more comprehensive, less exclusive majority. He speaks of Lord John Russell with respect, and not in the style in which the journals of both parties indulge. He rejects, however, the proposals for a change in the principles of trade as unseason-

able and dangerous. Supposing that he now gets over this difficulty, he will always find it in his way, and, instead of the passive resistance of opposition, be obliged to assume the positive action of an efficient government. However, one view is here opposed to another, while the relation of the new government to Ireland may become more difficult and dangerous. Sir Robert, indeed, carried the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, in direct contradiction to his own former opinions, because it could no longer be avoided ; and this power of circumstances is very often felt. Of the two leaders, Sir Robert looks more to the past, and Lord John to the future. The latter daily draws nearer, and inevitably arrives ; the true art is to facilitate the transition from the one to the other, in and through the present. This is the substance of all genuine history.

Wednesday, 30th of June.

Enough, and more than enough, of politics ; one cannot live on them alone, still less than on laws concerning bread and corn. The more healthy the constitution of an individual is, the less does he think about it ; but if diseases and crises happen, it is salutary to have at hand a good apothecary and an able physician, or to change a bad one for a better. In

August, England will change its physician ; the new one will put more bitter or sweet into his prescription, and the patient's life will be preserved chiefly by his good constitution. With respect to the elections, I refer you to the newspapers. I have stated what will be the probable result.

The night before last (what a contrast to the business of the morning !), I went to the Hay-market, to see the "Merchant of Venice." Though I almost know the piece by heart, I by no means understood every word ; this, however, is sometimes the case with me in Germany. The English performance had a new and peculiar effect. What judgment in the disposition, what richness in the connexion, what cheerfulness, relieving the painful part, what dignity in the exuberant playfulness of the last act, which prosaic people blame ; none of the light banter was omitted, and it run glibly over the tongue. Only the princely suitors did not appear. Jessica and Lorenzo sung three songs or glees. Miss Ellen Tree, as Portia, pleased me by her simple, and yet animated performance : Kean, as Shylock, whom I do not otherwise admire, struck me by his peculiar conception of the part ; he did not represent the Jew as a decrepid old man, full of covetousness and malice, but as a person still in the vigour of life. Hence he was indeed reserved, but more energetic in the de-

fence of his people, more savage in the bursts of the threat of revenge, but quite speechless and broken down after the final sentence. I should like to have some talk with Tieck upon this subject. This Shylock was certainly different from all that I have seen in Germany, and I like the difference well. The other actors were but middling : Lancelot Gobbo, not without talent, but most unsuitably represented by a stout old man. At the end of the play, I went home at ten o'clock, without seeing Mary Ducane. Notwithstanding the rain and politics, the house was quite full ; even (let the rich and fashionable world in Berlin observe this) the dress boxes.

Thursday, 1st of July.

Yesterday I dined with Mr. B. and drove, at a quarter before ten, under his protection, to an evening party or concert at Buckingham Palace, to which the Queen had graciously invited me.. The company was very numerous, but there was no crowd. Many gentlemen stood, as I also did ; they were, however, in the second apartment, or picture gallery. I had taken a place near the door, and had a good view of all the ladies and gentlemen as they came in. Among the latter, were several of the most celebrated characters of the day ; such as the Duke of Wellington, Na-

pier, Russell, Palmerston, &c.; Whigs and Tories amicably mixed together; whereas, one might fancy, from the public journals, that they were ready to devour one another. Nobody was in uniform; the gentlemen in black or blue coats, for the most part, white waistcoats, black small clothes, and black silk stockings, shoes without buckles, and dress hats. Napier was the only gentlemen in trowsers. The ladies wore no hats, and were simply, but elegantly attired, though some few only were over-dressed: it is needless to say that all were in evening dresses. The concert consisted of two parts, and each part of six or seven pieces, airs, duets, songs, quartets, choruses; two pieces by Mercadante, one by Vaccai, six by Rossini, songs by Schubert, one air from Gluck's *Armida*, a chorus from Mendelsohn's *St. Paul*. The female singers were Grisi, Persiani, and Viardot; and the gentlemen, Rubini, Tamburini, Lablache, and Mario; all excellent in their way. The Italian pieces, extracted from different Operas, consisted chiefly of empty phrases; and those of Gluck and Mendelsohn, seemed like sounds from another world. Between the first and second parts, the Queen and her party went from the concert room, through the picture gallery to the refreshment room, where Selter water and wine were very abundant.

* * * I meant to say no more about politics;

but it cannot be avoided in the atmosphere of London ; and I must be content, if the next day and the next newspaper contradict me before my letters reach you. The evident impossibility of governing on the old Tory principles is not only expressly acknowledged by Sir Robert Peel, but the Times agrees in this confession ; and the Morning Post declares, that it indeed abides by its old principles, but is sensible that a new Conservative party must be formed, and the government conducted in a different manner. The Tories, in general, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, think and feel in a similar manner. Every unprejudiced person must confirm the truth of these views and assertions. Since, then, the fear of the old Toryism is dispelled by these important confessions, while the apprehension from the Chartist's and the disgust at bare democracy daily increase, Sir Robert might acquire a very great majority in the new Parliament. On the one hand, this is a great victory, and a desirable facility to the government ; but, on the other hand, with this great superiority, the danger increases, that many persons may presume on this superiority, and refuse to concede any thing. A small majority, on the other hand, shews the possibility of a gradual or rapid loss, makes a party moderate and attentive, and induces them to abide by their new reasonable confession of faith. The greater the

majority of a new ministry may be, the greater does the defeat of the present appear: again their defeat is also a victory; for the victors assume, with the places, also the doctrines and principles of the vanquished. The old notions of Castlereagh, and Tories like him, are quite out of the question. Those who are now called Tories even defend what the Whigs have done, and what they themselves before opposed. Thus, for instance, Sir R. Peel and the Duke of Wellington vote for the maintenance of the poor-law, in opposition to the ultra Tories and the Radicals. Now, if the present Conservatives take the position as well as the places of the former Whigs, this important question arises, whether the Whigs will not, in the same manner, go over to Radicalism, and the Radicals make common cause with the Chartist? I do not participate in these apprehensions.—As Sir Robert Peel supported moderate measures of Lord John Russell, Lord J. R. will support moderate measures of Sir Robert. Had their parties not run into artificial and personal opposition, the number of those who are averse from dangerous extremes would increase to an immense majority; and I hope still to witness this result. Nay, this majority does, in fact, already exist. The judicious leaders are agreed upon all the great questions, as against the ballot, against annual Parliaments and universal suffrage.

They are even agreed on the main point of the late dispute, on the value of free trade, and the danger of all prohibitory duties. They disagree only on the extent of the alterations required, and the time for making them, and on the very difficult point, whether a fixed duty on corn or a sliding scale is to be preferred. With respect to these things, every day brings additional experience; and it is no longer possible to shut one's eyes, and adjourn every question indefinitely. He who attempts this, cannot remain at the helm. On the contrary, the retiring party will increase more rapidly than it has diminished. The principle of free trade will certainly triumph in the end. The truth of science is never destroyed; it is only more defined by the existing difficulties, prejudices, &c. Columbus had discovered America before he set his foot on board the ship.

July 2, 1841.

In my political meditations, I have always endeavoured to observe, with dispassionate calmness and moderation, and have acquired a conviction that the world-encompassing British Empire is no more labouring under a dangerous disease in 1841, than in 1830 or 1835. These crises are rather natural and unavoidable gradations in its development; and the different tendencies of the propelling forces, lead at

length in the diagonal to salutary alterations and improvements. The English will probably approve my faith in the vigour and vitality of their country, but nevertheless reproach me with manifesting a spiritless indifference ; and say, that as I am incapable of energetic enthusiasm, and neither hot nor cold, I must be despised and rejected by all parties. We alone, say the 'Tories, are perfectly right. A senseless love of innovation has undermined the foundations of our state, and, under the dazzling name of Reform, we are approaching to anarchical, licentious dissolution : that which raised us above other nations, passes for folly ; on the contrary, it passes for wisdom to depress us to the deplorable standard of foreign countries, and, with stupid thoughtlessness, to sacrifice all the elements of our greatness. Instead of the national, universal church, which exists, in happy union with the state, and gives it life, every one calls his own poor opinion by the name of religion, and becomes his own idol. A total separation of the state from the church, this death of all the higher bonds of society, is praised by those who consider it as the most exalted liberty to choose atheism at their pleasure, and to set aside Christianity. They boast of their enthusiasm for A, B, C schools ; and the rule of three is, in their estimation, above the Christian faith and the Thirty-nine Articles.

Rotten boroughs, answer the Whigs, are considered by our opponents as more solid foundations of the state, than an intelligent people restored to their natural rights. Their private advantage is set up as the highest political development; the restless motion of genuine popular advance, on the contrary, is designated and decried as anarchy. Whatever separates us from other nations, makes them our enemies, and impedes and interrupts us in all directions, is to be maintained for eternity; and, under a thousand false pretexts, we are to be persuaded into mean cowardice; we, who have been for a century the leaders in the connection of nations which promotes the advance of mankind, would be the last in the course where there are no obstacles to free competition, and be exposed to the ridicule of all. Where temporal scare-crows do not produce a sufficient effect, religion is unworthily called to their aid; a nation which comprehends and includes, not merely all the Christian sects, but all the religions of the earth, is to impress on itself the stamp of one select religion—a patent religion, and to find the essence of Christianity in partial intolerance. The command, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,” is reversed; what you would not have people do to you, that do to them. No reasonable person thinks of converting

the state to heathenism or atheism : but rather, by bringing forward all that is similar in the several Christian confessions, to make the bond of union more comprehensive, and to soften the asperities of opposition between them. No reasonable person thinks of plundering the church, but wishes to make it more useful, and more respected by a due application and distribution of its resources. The school is not elevated in the spirit of Freethinking at the expense of the church, but considered as the solid foundation, without which more exalted knowledge cannot thrive. * *

I was interrupted,—happily enough, perhaps,—or my discussions might have been too long ; in the end, they become tiresome. If the Tories have for ten years been kept out of office, if the Whigs are to leave to others the harvest of what they have sown and prepared, the contemplation of things is dimmed and excited by the effervescence of the passions. I am no friend to the restrictions of the censorship ; I am no stranger to the nature of the English liberty of the press ; I know that its exaggerations and abuses have not the weight and the consequences which are elsewhere taken for granted ; yet I cannot entirely accustom myself to this state of things, and still less unconditionally approve it. When we read the journals of both parties, we might be tempted to believe

that no house of correction, no galleys, contained such a collection of rogues, knaves, and vagabonds, as the chiefs and leaders of the English statesmen of both parties. There is nothing, however sinful and shameful, which is not said of them and their friends. Must not this diminish all respect for the magistracy and the law, and is it not the greatest shame, daily to set before their readers so many lies, and for the readers to digest them with delight ? All this, I am told in reply, has as little effect, and does, as little harm, as when the dogs bark at the moon. Granted ! But there, the barkers are dogs, who ought not to be permitted to make a noise where civilized man desires to speak. A more noble, polished, true, and Christian form of attack and defence, may certainly be conceived, than we every day meet with in the English papers.

Yesterday evening I saw "Macbeth," at the Haymarket. I was not at all pleased with Kean's acting, which is admired by many persons. Even in the very first scene, no more is to be perceived of his bold, heroic, character. All was measured, studied; every word and sentence accented, declaimed; making the character that of Shylock, advanced from avarice to ambition. Besides there was nothing noble in the sound of his voice. The last combat was, perhaps, the best part of the whole.

Both parties conducted it with so much earnestness, with so much rapidity and force, that one was afraid, even in the imitation, it would be a matter of life and death. Miss Ellen Tree, as Lady Macbeth, was undoubtedly far superior to her husband; and she reminded me of former times, when the performance of Macbeth at Berlin called forth our exertions and interest. She surely never heard a word of the disputes which took place at that time, and of Tieck's opinions and doctrines; but she played in perfect conformity with them. There was not a trace of unfeminine rage,—and even in the passage where she excites and winds herself up, it was evident that she had need to be so confirmed. Unequal to Madame Crelinger in respect to figure, play of countenance, and power of voice, she represented the scenes of the second act especially, so nobly, nay, sublimely, that it appeared to me as if she were right, and not subject to the laws of ordinary mortals. The words (act ii. sc. i.), "That which hath made them drunk, hath made me bold," she pronounced by no means as a Megara, but reflecting, as if a doubt were already arising in her inmost soul, and accompanying her boldness. Again, when she hurries on Macbeth with these words, "Be not lost so poorly in your thoughts," she stood above him in her defiance of sin, and yet not so criminal. At least,

nearer to the purification, the purgatory of her last wonderful scene. When, after the still, laconic meditation, the anxious washing of her hand, the last heart-rending sigh, she suddenly turns, grasps the empty air, saying, "give me your hand, &c." and then, with the candle in her hand, hastens out, with dishevelled hair, my limbs trembled and my hair stood on end.

It appears to me quite an absurdity that the Witches are chiefly performed by old men, as well as Hecate, whereby the fantastic is completely lost, and the disagreeable substituted for it. This tragedy, too, is absurdly interrupted and delayed by the long and tedious music. What a mysterious and admirable power of genuine genius! all the questions and movements of the present time—the elections—the change of ministry—corn-laws—duties on sugar and timber, appear dull and unimportant in comparison of the emotions of the mind which Shakspeare calls forth, in the most brilliant cheerfulness, or in the most awful solemnity.

July 1.

I have seen the tumult in the streets during the elections; the flags, ribbands, scarfs, coaches, marked with the names of the candidates, bringing their friends to the poll; songs of praise or abuse; large

and small loaves ; starved cats, by way of symbol ; whistling, groaning, hurrahs, ladies in the balconies, &c. as I have already described. In the broad streets, however, all this was more dispersed, and the echo from the blue or rather grey sky was fainter than from the roof of Guildhall. It would be more interesting to obtain a knowledge of the secret course of the elections, and of the means employed ; and a great deal has been told me on this subject, of which, indeed, no legal proof can be given. The landowners undoubtedly exercise a decisive influence over their tenants in the counties, which may be natural and even advantageous, but certainly is at variance with the political intentions that they shall vote as independent men. The intimidations in the towns take a different form, especially against shopkeepers, whose customers cease to deal with them, if they do not vote according to their wishes. Many refrain from voting on this account, or promise to vote only in case it shall be absolutely necessary. Many are undecided which is the best candidate, and which cause is the best ; in this case, money, or money's worth, turns the scale. The Tories have much more money, and are, therefore, more regardless of expense to attain their object. A man who was at the head of a Committee, in a certain town, and who had often conducted the election of

a Whig, appeared to be uneasy and undecided, and at length confessed that he thought him the best candidate, but that the opposite party had offered him £500 if he would join them ; and this was so large a sum, that, considering his limited income, he thought himself bound to accept it for the sake of his family. Lord John Russell had not as many votes in the city as was expected ; independently of other causes, it is said that a very numerous body, which has retained the elective franchise from ancient times, offered to vote for him at £5 a head ; but as he refused to pay the sum of £1000, and would not permit his friends to pay, the body in question came to an agreement with the Tories the evening before the election, by which he nearly lost it, and is not even now quite secure. Means, besides, are easily found to give these affairs such a form that the laws against bribery cannot be applied to them. Thus an elector in the city, who was a shoemaker, accepted a proposal made to him on the day of election, from an opponent of Lord John Russell, to select twelve pair of boots, at three guineas a pair, in Birmingham, and to go and fetch them. If a complaint is made to the House of Commons, it is treated as a party-matter, and the members of the committees have not the face to condemn means, which most of them have em-

ployed, in a greater or less degree. The proceedings in the elections almost assume the form of a compromise, between the rich and the poor, who are undoubtedly more oppressed by the present system of taxation. The latter have obtained a political right, and desire to profit by it. The rich have to pay their inferiors for assisting them to obtain the power of exercising their still greater political right. How far this does away with the evil, or whether the ballot would be a suitable remedy, I shall discuss another time *.

Newcastle, August 10.

Early on the morning of the 8th, we went, by the railroad, from York to Darlington ; and then, the weather being very fine, on the outside of the mail-coach, to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where we arrived at half-past eleven o'clock. The country retains the agreeable variety of which I have already spoken ; Durham, with its cathedral, and other ancient, characteristic buildings, in the low valley of the Wear, is highly picturesque and romantic. York and Dur-

* The author begs to state that when the printing had advanced thus far, it was discovered that the letters between July 4 and August 10, were either lost or mislaid, which must be his apology for the abruptness of the transition.

ham have undergone little or no improvement for a long time. A gentleman told me that this was the fate of all cities in which the Clergy and the Chapters had the preponderance. This may have some influence, but it would certainly not have checked the progress of Liverpool or Manchester. At Newcastle, we sought, and soon found, my old friend Dr. Potter, and his intelligent mother. After dinner, Dr. Potter very kindly conducted us about the town. We saw a bridge, over which the railway to Shields passes; it crosses a very deep valley, on immensely wide arches, which rest on stone pillars, but consist of beams of timber fastened together with wooden pegs. Between every two of the twelve beams so fastened together, some paper is laid, so that a small current of air is obtained, which keeps off the rot. Grey and Granger Streets are equal to the finest in London. The statue of the present Earl Grey stands on a high column, at the place where the two streets meet. The reading-room, with a double colonnade, is larger than any I have seen. The form of the principal circular hall, with a smaller apartment of the same form, built into it, cannot be explained without a drawing. After we had visited this institution for intellectual enjoyment, we viewed the shambles, likewise a remarkable building, and then went to a new and very handsome cemetery. It was established by

a joint stock company, which sells the vaults at a high price, and derives large profits. One half has been consecrated by the Bishop, and is designed exclusively for members of the Established Church ; the Dissenters are buried in the other half. Our visit to the cemetery led to a conversation respecting a very numerous body of men existing in England, called the "Society of Odd Fellows," every member of which contributes a very small sum towards a fund, from which relief is given, in case of death, and poverty, not incurred by misconduct. There are likewise building societies, where poor persons, by weekly contributions, are enabled to build houses, and gradually to become proprietors of them. Careful economy, and the possibility of immediately employing the money to advantage at any time, enable the societies to effect that which individuals would find impossible.

Yesterday, the 9th, we went by the railroad from this place to Sunderland ; admired the high bridge, under the single arch of which merchant vessels sail; came then by another railway to Mutton station, and turned aside to South Hatton, of which I have spoken fully in my former letters. Dr. Potter shewed us every thing of note in South Hatton; after which we went to an establishment, not yet complete, where, if possible, a greater quantity of

coals will be raised. Nine steam-engines and twenty-seven boilers are constantly at work in this new establishment, the largest of which are from three hundred to four hundred horse power. It would be impossible to employ so many horses at one spot and in so small a space, or fully to check such immense forces in a moment. * * * * *

On our return, we looked in vain for Mr. Losch, the Prussian Vice-Consul, and drank tea with Dr. Potter. Yesterday, at the moment when, according to our first plan, we were to have visited another coal mine, and at the very place where we should have stopped, three men (the overseers) were so dreadfully burnt, that one will probably lose his life, and the two others be disfigured and blind. "This is a visible intervention of Providence," remarked Mrs. Potter, "which you and my son will never forget." True, and yet incomprehensible; and what does it prove? Am I better, worthier, than the poor sufferers? Are their families in less need of consolation? These instances of election are mysterious! Let us adore and give thanks, but not attempt to fathom and explain.

It is not to be denied that many commercial establishments in this part of the country also, are in a state of stagnation: the coal trade, however, has a more certain demand than the cotton manufactures. The demand for the former increases every year,

while the quantity produced decreases in a greater proportion. Whole towns arise in a short time through the working of the coal mines. Thus, South Hatton, for instance, has already two thousand inhabitants, and, yesterday, I saw the miners at dinner on white bread, potatoes, and excellent roast meat. The steam, which darkens the sun and withers the trees, is, however, very disagreeable ; and the hay-makers appear to me to be far happier than all those who live in the creaking, rattling, whizzing, and thundering of the manufactories. Both, however, are so much a part of human progress, that neither is to be exclusively favoured or impeded*.

On Saturday, 14th August, we went, from the chain pier, on board the Victoria steam boat from Edinburgh to Stirling. The rain soon ceased, and though the atmosphere did not become quite clear, we saw both banks as we approached them, and the river or bay, cultivated land, hills and islands, presented an agreeable variety. I had pleasant fellow travellers and much interesting conversation with some ladies and gentlemen. Among the latter, there were two very sensible Scotch farmers, who gave me a good deal of information on various matters connected with farming. A very frequent alternation of crops is wheat,

* Here, too, it seems as if something were wanting.—Tr.

turnips, barley, clover, and pasture for two years. Even with leases, which are generally for nineteen years, it is difficult to make great improvements to advantage; and those who do not attempt them are as badly off. The Scotch farmers, they said, were far in advance of the English in all branches of agriculture. I had heard the same assertion in England. Sowing-machines are used only for turnips; but every farmer has a thrashing-machine, which works very rapidly and at a small expense. They cost from £50 to £110. The most complete, not only thrash, but separate the grain, the chaff, and the straw. These Scotch farmers judge much more correctly of the corn laws than many of their English advocates. They know that they afford no advantage to them; and allow that, in England and Scotland, with less seed, fewer cattle, men, and buildings, with good roads, markets near at hand, &c. much more is produced, and more easily disposed of, than on the Continent. With one of these farmers, whose name was Finch, we went from Stirling, by way of Doune, to Callander, through a very carefully cultivated country; but the fine crops of standing corn had been much injured by the rain. At Callander, we took another carriage to the above-mentioned inn.

The first lake that we saw was Loch Vennachar. The banks are, for the most part, bare; there is too

much broom and heath, while wood has been preserved only on some spots. The impression of its solitude was greater than that of its beauty, to which the gloomy sky and the returning rain contributed not a little. This rain was so heavy, that we could not leave our inn. To-day, the weather has cleared up, so that we have been able to take a very long walk. Loch Achray is separated by great masses of rock and rude islands from Loch Katrine. On the right hand rises Ben An, 1,800 feet high; on the left, Ben Venue, 2,800 feet high. The rocks are better wooded than those of Loch Vennachar; the ridges rise and fall in beautiful variety; the prospects extend and close alternately; and the path, now rising, now descending, is intersected by numerous small streams and waterfalls. The water is dark, and in some views it appears to be almost black. The character of the whole is very different from that in Switzerland and in Italy; though the elements of which it is composed are in the main the same, viz. rocks, trees, water, &c. It is, therefore, impossible satisfactorily to explain, by words alone, in what they resemble, and in what they differ from each other. The character and sternness of the north are prominent, and call forth different thoughts and feelings from the brilliant cheerfulness of the south. Men are fond of transforming visible, into intellectual

beauty, and think that it is thereby enhanced and refined; minds differently constituted have an immediate and sufficient pleasure in visible objects. I am fond of both, and gladly indulge in either.

Tuesday, 17th of August,

The Eagle, Glasgow.

Yesterday was fully and agreeably employed. The day before, after we had rested from our long walk to the north of Loch Katrine, we ventured on another, to the point where the water of that lake has forced an issue into Loch Achray. The wild rocks which separate the two lakes have a very peculiar aspect; the prospect was more simple across Loch Achray to our inn, behind which other mountain ridges rose.

On the 16th, in the morning, we walked by the same road as the day before to Loch Katrine, and then went in a boat to the other end; the first part afforded the most beautiful scenery, passing by Ellen's Isle, but afterwards the mountains which bounded it were bare, or covered with wild heath and brushwood. A road of about five miles in length, leads from Loch Katrine to Loch Lomond, up hill and down dale; dirty, stony, bare; no wooded eminences.— Some of our party rode on ponies; we, however,

went on foot, as more is to be seen in this way, and one is not obliged to think of the horse. I accompanied a lady, who looked like a girl, but who had been married nine years, and arrived at the same time with the first horse, at the landing place, which is adorned by the beautiful waterfall of Inversnaid. A boat took us to the steamer, which first went to the northern extremity of Loch Lomond, and then to Balloch. Loch Lomond is by far the largest of the Scotch lakes, as Ben Lomond is the highest of the mountains; and, towards the south, several islands add to the variety and beauty of the prospect. The distances are, however, more beautiful than the foreground, because many mountains have been rendered bare by the wasteful destruction of the forests, without covering their nakedness with Italian colours. All in all, however, the Scotch lakes are peculiar, and very well worth seeing; and I was in excellent spirits, notwithstanding some showers of rain. From Balloch, we went in a small omnibus to Dumbarton, then in a boat to the castle, as it is called,—an isolated high rock. Here a steamer took us on board, and conveyed us to Glasgow, where we put up at the Eagle. Such is the subject of which Sir Walter Scott's works give such brilliant variations. The Italian lakes perform their own variations.

The northern end of Loch Lomond is the most

northerly point of my travels: two years ago, about this time, I was at the most southern point, in Malta.

Manchester, 20th of August.

* * * On the 18th, we drove from Glasgow to Lancaster, most part of the way full gallop, even up hill, without the aid of the whip. A German postillion—nay, postmaster—will think this impossible; but the roads and the horses are excellent, and the stages very short. The country, especially in Scotland, was by no means beautiful; presenting only barren hills, heaths, peatmoors; and where the land was cultivated, only oats and potatoes were grown. When we see how much land in fertile parts is used for pasture, and how much, in spite of protecting corn laws, is unfit for the growth of wheat, the folly of the present system becomes the more evident. Within ten years, the population of Glasgow has increased by 78,000 souls, and yet the neighbouring districts are expected to produce corn for the supply of this increased population. We passed through the far-famed Gretna Green: many foolish anecdotes are related of this place, some of which I have already communicated to you. It looks neither poetical nor attractive; but it is the nearest place

where two witnesses may attest a marriage in the Scotch fashion.

Yesterday we went by railroad from Lancaster to Liverpool. I admired, as on a former occasion, the immense size of the docks, the number of ships, the active intercourse which connects the different parts of the world, the extent of the custom-house, the splendour of the shops, &c. But when you have seen all this, there is no inducement to make a longer stay. We accordingly set out for Manchester, and alighted at the Royal Hotel, where I lodged in 1835.

I am afraid you will find my account very short and dry ; but I have no time to go into details ; and, in fact, there has been so little change since 1835, that I could scarcely add anything new and remarkable. The productive and cheap years, 1835 and 1836, had given more employment and profit than the dear years 1839-40 ; and the number of beggarly-looking children, nay, of ragged adults, evidently proved, that the complaints which are made are perfectly well founded, and that the present legislation, which frequently hinders free trade, must be absolutely changed, if the present crisis is not to lead to permanent ruin. This conviction, confirmed by seeing and hearing, is the most important result of my journey.

Birmingham, 21st of August.

Early yesterday morning, we went to the manufactory of machinery of Messrs. Sharp and Roberts, which I saw some years ago, but which has since much increased, both in extent and in the power of the machines. Thus a new machine cut into two, iron plates five inches broad and five-quarters thick, as if they had been as soft as butter. The manufacture of steam-engines affords by far the most employment; we saw many that were to go to Germany, and one for Berlin had just been finished. In the end, it is an advantage to both parties that the exportation and importation of machines are no longer prohibited. The wages of a workman in Messrs. Sharp's manufactory rise from eighteen shillings to £2 per week. Mr. Sharp confirmed the complaints of the depressed condition of some manufacturers, but did not look to one point alone as the reason of this. He said that a badly managed system of banking; excessive and unsafe credit; undertaking enterprises without capital and knowledge; American embarrassment, the Corn Laws, &c.; these and other circumstances have had a prejudicial effect. I again visited the calico printing establishment of Mr. Niel, where there are muslins on which three cylinders print three different colours at the same time; as well as other peculiar con-

trivances, connected with it. Notwithstanding long preliminary enquiries, the law on the property of patterns, though very necessary, has not yet passed through Parliament, because the time was spent in unimportant discussions, and needless disputes. In this manufactory, the workmen are employed only four days in the week ; an evident proof of a bad state of things. All the manufacturers with whom I have spoken, are of opinion, that English commerce cannot exist without an extended freedom of trade. This conviction has certainly a more solid foundation, because innumerable ancient prejudices were to be overcome, which are still defended by most of the agriculturists.

The workhouse, under the direction of Mr. Robinson, appeared to me as admirable as in 1835. Large, light rooms, good beds, cleanliness, the finest wheaten bread, &c. seem to prove that the complaints of cruel and harsh treatment are false and frivolous. In a town like Manchester, out-door relief cannot be wholly avoided ; but, notwithstanding the prevailing distress, the applications of persons able to work are not numerous, and the number of children to be received has not increased. Many out of the workhouse certainly live worse than in it, yet no one willingly resigns his liberty or his bad habits, to subject himself to strict discipline. By far the greater number in this

house were aged men and women, wholly unfit for work, and who are much better cared for now than formerly.

Mr. Robinson had been in Ireland, to ascertain how the new Poor Law worked there. He said that, in comparison with former times, the state of things was much improved, in consequence of a proper distribution of the contributions, profiting by English experience, and, above all, the greatly improved and more thorough education of the children, in schools open to all sects. These circumstances, as well as the admirable Temperance societies, lead us to hope that brighter days are dawning upon Ireland.

London, August 25.

Yesterday, we walked through Hyde Park to Kensington. This close connection of all the splendour of the capital, in buildings, carriages, horses, horsemen and horsewomen, gentlemen and ladies, with the most rural scenery (meadows, trees, cows, and sheep), has a charm which is always new. In the evening, there was an illumination ; consisting of stars, arabesques, and P. A. in honour of Prince Albert's birth-day. I am no admirer of unlimited, absolute sovereignty ; not because it is in itself worse than others, with more ample political forms, but

because it seldom brings with it such a general and diversified activity of the powers of the mind. But the best constitution of the latter kind has its disagreeable side ; and as one well acquainted with the middle ages, and a great respecter of the ladies, I cannot dissemble this, and least of all, in these days, in London. The young Queen is not only called upon to part with her ministers, but she will probably be importuned, till she dismisses her best female friends, or till they are obliged to tender their resignation. Such a demand is, in my opinion, very uncourteous ; not founded on the Constitution, and, with the great majority in Parliament, quite unnecessary. Such matters, too, are the best and most easily settled when no stress is laid upon them. If the power of Parliament changes the whole administration, there is more than sufficient security for the rights of the people ; and it is needless to make such a fuss about a few petticoats.

The debates in Parliament are now less interesting than you perhaps imagine. It has been known for these two months that a change of ministry must take place. The retiring party intends to declare and leave its *testament politique*. The victorious party says not a word but ‘ Go ont.’ This is very crafty, but not in the style of great statesmen, such as Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Grey, &c. who, in such decisive

moments, brought forward the whole force of grand views, victorious arguments, and well-digested plans, and with these positive weapons drove their adversaries from the field. There are, indeed, good reasons for the silence now observed ; the object is to get rid of the present ministers at any price ; then to step into their shoes, and play the same air with variations.

Friday, September 3.

Yesterday, the day commenced with a dense fog, after which the sky cleared up, and we went, in the finest weather, by the Western Railway to Slough, and then by an omnibus to Eton and Windsor. Prince Albert, with whom K—— hoped to have an interview, was gone with the Queen to Claremont. The terraces, the gardens, and the castle, were, however, shown to us, with the exception of the Queen's private apartments. We were much pleased with the fine rooms, tastefully adorned in the true Gothic style, with admirable paintings, well-arranged arms, and Nelson's bust, standing on the mast of his victorious ship. I might transcribe a book on the subject, which I purchased yesterday ; but, in the end, could not say any thing more in its praise, than what I stated of my first visit to Windsor with Dr. Waagen. It certainly is a most poetical castle, or

pile of edifices, turrets, and towers, which exist in wonderful combination; it is a fairy scene, which the noblest spirits alone could create, and which bears the stamp of the genius of Shakspeare.

We went on foot to Slough, then travelled by railroad to London, and, in the evening, enjoyed, in the Surrey Zoological Gardens, another fairy scene. It is true, St. Peter's Church, the Porta Sisto, the Castle of St. Angelo, were only made up of board and painting; but, such a decoration, on a great scale, as well as the splendid fireworks, must delight every body, even those who have seen it in Rome itself. The most beautiful moonlight evening heightened the impression, and the number of spectators certainly amounted to some thousands. I could clearly distinguish the window from which I last viewed the illumination and the fireworks in Rome. It was a very painful reminiscence; for Papencordt then sat at my side. Who could have presaged that this amiable, talented young man, in the prime of life, would die before me, a worn-out veteran, who, if death were to summon him and tell him that his days of usefulness on earth were ended, could only reply —it is well!

Saturday, September 4.

I went by railroad to Blackwall, and then took the steamer to Woolwich to see the Docks and the Arsenal. Every thing was in the finest order, and manifold activity ; there was a large ship of the line building, and a royal steam-boat, exceeding in size and the power of the machinery all that I have yet seen. If it were to come rushing up to Pekin, I believe that the whole empire and nation of the Centre would run away. Anchor forges, hydraulic presses, steam engines, were in constant motion, so that the direct efforts of human labour appeared quite insignificant, in comparison with these natural forces. This alone is sufficient to account for the abuse which so many persons lavish on the dominion of matter ; but does not mind set the matter in motion ?—does it not command it ? In general, that wisdom is but patchwork, which comprehends only one half, and neglects or misuses the other.

The weakest and most condemnable part was precisely the greater number of men, that is, criminals, condemned to hard labour, who remain in the docks till their term of punishment has expired, or till they are pardoned, or sent to the colonies. Those who had committed slighter crimes wore an iron band

round the left ankle ; those who had committed heavier crimes, round the right ankle, and the most criminal wore a chain fastened to the middle. Much of the work which they perform might be done by machinery, so that their labour and maintenance, and especially the necessary superintendence, are, in proportion, very dear, and certainly dearer than the labour of diligent and able-bodied free-men would be. The same may be said of slave labour, and is opposed to the demand of the West India planters, that England shall for ever leave to them the monopoly of the sugar trade. If as many honest men as there were criminals, were to be guarded by so few soldiers, they would soon unite and free themselves ; a bad conscience, however, makes man a coward, and cuts off every hope of external success, or internal justification.

Our permission was merely to inspect the docks ; we were, therefore, referred, in order to complete our survey, to the office of the commandant. On this occasion, we saw handsome barracks, a kind of academy for cadets, and the large verdant place of exercise, which is bounded in the back-ground by pleasant hills. "Are you," enquired the lieutenant, a handsome, gentlemanly person, "the Author of the Essay on the Corn Laws ?" A proof that all classes take an interest in this question.

In the arsenal, were immense stores of balls, carriages, saddles,—in short, of military necessaries of every kind : an evidence of extraordinary energy and power. But our admiration cannot suppress the regret, that all is made by man for the destruction of his fellows, and that if all were moderate and reasonable—if they were Christians, there would be no need for these things, and the dead, and death-dealing treasures might be better employed.

*Tuesday, 7th of September,
White Hart, Portsmouth.*

I begin this sheet at the most southern point of my present journey ; but, for want of time, and a gradual disinclination to writing, I must merely put it in the form of a short journal.

On Saturday, the 4th, we visited the large prison for Westminster, in Cold Bath Fields, and had some instructive conversation with Mr. Chesterton, the Governor. We found every thing clean, and orderly : good and sufficient food, clothing, and beds :—no cruelty, as has been so often imputed, with perhaps excessive sensibility. Yet I am inclined to consider the treadmill as a new, and I must be permitted to say, blameable cruelty : when any thing useful is produced by it, when the force employed is really turned to account, the utility is connected with a very incon-

venient punishment: but when, as here, the treadmill runs round only to annoy and torment the people, it becomes a kind of torture; whereas some well-merited stripes, inflicted at a right time and on extraordinary occasions, would probaby accomplish the proposed end more effectually. The prison should accustom the people to labour; but here only the weak labour, and the strength of the strong and healthy is thrown away. Their appetite is sharpened, for no reason whatever; and the whole contrivance must embitter their minds, and have a bad moral effect. Where, as in some other penal establishments, the treadmill is employed for useful purposes, a part at least of this censure falls to the ground. Mr. Chesterton spoke of the evil consequence of the unconditional solitary system, especially to the health, and was of opinion that the silent system might be maintained even if the people were employed together; a single sentence, a single word, might be reprimanded, but not considered as a crime. We see that every thing that is called unconditional in these practical matters, leads to what is impracticable and impossible. On the whole, it is more difficult to keep the women in order, than the men. Among the former, many, even of the young, are addicted to drinking, who, after their discharge, relapse into the same vice. It appears that a Temperance Society is much needed in England; it

has an excellent effect in Ireland, and many distilleries have entirely stopped work.

On Monday morning, we went by the railroad to Southampton, landed in the Isle of Wight, near Cowes and Ryde, but resolved, on account of the rain and fog, to proceed immediately by the steamer to Portsmouth. The road from London to Southampton runs, part of the way, through a very fruitful, well-cultivated tract, but then through heath and moors, which put me in mind of the bad part of our country. Lord L—— told me that improvements were in a great measure prevented by the necessity of having a separate Act of Parliament for every enclosure of commons, which often cost so much money, that the whole plan had to be given up. In this particular, our legislation is manifestly better, inasmuch as it is content with laying down rules, and does not bring every separate case before the legislature. Southampton has been much enlarged of late years, and is now the most agreeable place of starting for Paris by way of Havre and Rouen. We might have reached Paris in twenty hours, and have convinced ourselves (as B. affirms) by our own experience, that the French are the most peaceable and obedient people in Europe! That he did not see any person murdered in Paris in the space of a fortnight, passes with him, for experience, and historical proof. I saw

the contrary, but would not draw a general conclusion, from an individual case. It is true that the great majority of the French desire tranquillity and order; but the turbulent minority has almost always commanded and hurried away the peaceable majority. May new and better times be at hand.

Southampton Bay forms a nearly closed circle and an agreeable landscape. Cowes and Ryde are built on the coast, on a gentle acclivity, and put me in mind of Italy. Viewed from this side, the Isle of Wight looked pleasant and cheerful, till it was obscured by a mist. In the evening, it cleared up at Portsmouth, and we made a delightful excursion by moonlight, in the spacious, safe, and well-protected harbour. We went on board "The Excellent," a ship of the line, which is chiefly used for manœuvres at sea, and a royal yacht, where taste was combined with the greatest elegance; more memorable, in an historical point of view, was "The Victory," in which we saw the place where Nelson was wounded, and where he died. He may be justly ranked with Epaminondas and Gustavus III. His order, "England expects every man to do his duty," is more eloquent and more elevated, than long rhetorical declamations and flourishes. It is to be regretted that his dependence on Lady Hamilton was not confined to an intrigue, but misled him to support bad measures.

If you say, fancy, instead of one soldier, a 100,000, and you know what an army is ; instead of one foot in height, 10,000, and you have a mountain : instead of a boat, a number of large vessels, and you know what a fleet is ; you have said very little, and the person you address will form but an imperfect idea, while neither arrives at a just conclusion. I was strongly impressed with this yesterday. This immense number of ships, up to the size of one hundred and twenty guns, these proud, bold, floating castles, make an impression of energy, power, activity—nay, of beauty—of which no conception can be formed, without seeing them together. Here the English may sing, with all their heart, “Britannia rules the waves ;” and they will meet with less contradiction and opposition in the world, than the French with the *Cara* and the *Marseillaise*. Well, every nation, as well as every individual, has his task to perform, and the Lord has assigned to each his own ; but Satan contrives to introduce solecisms and barbarisms into the allotted work. I have prepared my little task here to the best of my ability, and am therefore happy to return to Germany, and home.

London, September 8.

On Monday, we visited the immense dock-yard at Portsmouth, and the stores of every kind. We were astonished at the accuracy and rapidity with which the rough blocks of timber were cut into useful forms, bored, and sawed. The necessity and the value of machinery was here again evidently manifested ; and how it not only infinitely increases the productions of manual labour, but raises the work of man to a higher degree, and really gives it an intellectual character. A ship of the line sailing on the waves is a grand sight ; but you are not sensible of its full extent, and especially of its astonishing height, till you stand on the wharf, at the keel, and look up to the mast-head. On board the Victory, numbers of youths were climbing to the top of the mast, hanging to all the yards and ropes, boldly and merrily preparing themselves for their vocation.

Oxford, Thursday, Sept. 9.

Perceiving that the sky looked more friendly, we, yesterday morning, hastened to the Great Western Railway, and travelled through the fertile and pleasant valley of the Thames to Steventon, and from that place, on the outside of a stage, to Oxford. We had a view of the city from a distance, with its numerous spires and cupolas, and

beautiful meadows, trees, and groups. Rivers and canals make the environs extremely cheerful and inviting; the number and extent of the colleges, foundations, and churches, surpass, in proportion, those of every other city. The energy, the decision, the peculiarity, and the taste of former ages, every where excite interest and admiration; so that the smoky and smoke-dried modern cities, destitute of vegetation, and crowded with barrack-like buildings, or factories, appear, in comparison, miserable, and disagreeable. The colleges at Oxford would supply all the Universities in Germany with appropriate buildings. From the cupola of the Radcliffe Library, is a fine view of the variety and peculiarity of the whole. Dr. Trithen, a Russian, took us to the points most worthy of notice: Magdalen College, Christ's College, the Botanic Gardens, Promenades, &c. In my former letters, as well as in those which have still to be communicated to you, you will find much about Oxford, and I will, therefore, not enter into details here. Other particulars can scarcely be made intelligible in a short compass; for instance, the institution of the Fellows; a kind of scientific Protestant Monks, without vows, which many extol as the most admirable regulation for the promotion of study, while others affirm it is much more frequently an encouragement to idleness.

London, September 11.

I went on the 10th to the British Museum. The animals, excepting some gazelles and beautiful birds, found, as usual, no favour in my eyes; but I was riveted with the Greek works of art; even in their state of mutilation, they are the most beautiful, the most sublime, the most diversified, the boldest, the most affecting objects that can be seen. How glorious must they have appeared in Athens and Greece! In their present darkened lustre, there is still more light, mind, and life, than in all produced elsewhere in thousands of years! In the National Gallery, some admirable Francia's and Murillo's have been added to the other fine pictures.

In the evening, I went to Covent Garden, to see the "Merry Wives of Windsor;" but the wives were not merry at heart;—Falstaff without humour, only externally loaded with jokes, and squeaking in an unnatural voice. Much sing-song was introduced, which was encored, and highly applauded. Instead of laughing heartily, I almost fell asleep, and was glad when it was over; the only performer who had the least touch of poetic character, was Matthews, as Master Slender. My eyes were too weak to recognize the ruins, or the restoration, of the beauty of Madame Vestris.

A few days ago, I saw, for the second time, the immense steam-press for the “Penny Magazine;” compared with the power of this propagation of thought, the small sphere of verbal language completely vanishes. Steam makes not only calico and muslin, but books also, more speedily and cheaply than human hands, and the material and intellectual are here likewise blended together. The sight of a steam-press ought to convince censors and the secret police, of their impotency.

September 18.

Sir Robert Peel’s declaration, that he will not explain himself upon any great measure, before the meeting of Parliament next year, is approved by only a part of his friends, who say it is absurd to require him and the other ministers to express themselves unnecessarily with precipitation, after being only a week in office. Some of his party, on the contrary, are dissatisfied, and say: we have raised him by exertions of every kind, in full confidence that he would immediately enter on a wholly different course from that of the late ministry; instead of that, he does nothing; leaves us in anxious suspense respecting the corn laws, which are implicitly defended by us, confirms

the iniquitous poor-law, and would, perhaps, even sacrifice us, if he could thereby gain over a part of the Whigs. His opponents say, Peel has for years been thoroughly acquainted with all the matters in question : they have been examined and discussed, even to satiety, in Parliament, in the newspapers, and in various writings ; they cannot be placed in any new points of view ; and with the publicity that prevails in England, the leader of the Opposition, nay, any person who chooses to take the trouble, is as well-informed about the Poor-laws, the Import Duties, the Corn-laws, &c. as a minister. While the Whigs, whether in or out of office, clearly state what they will or will not, Peel demands implicit belief in a wholly unknown wisdom ; he requires a blind confidence, and continues to blame and find fault, without making an improvement in anything.

This delay has certainly been advantageous to the new opposition ; it increases the excitement in the country. In many towns, petitions to the Queen are drawn up not to prorogue Parliament till it has discussed and decided on the great measures. People are displeased, that, while the trade of England is in a most dangerous crisis, while bankruptcies are daily more numerous, and business declines, the new ministry envelops itself in an obscurity, which is a great

impediment to all commercial enterprizes, and, by delaying a resolution, renders the regular course of business impossible for a year at least. To this may be added the folly of the sliding scale, which has been again evidently manifested within these two days. Immense quantities of wheat have been landed at one shilling a quarter duty ; then the game begins to depress the prices, as before to raise them, so that it is believed that in a week the duty may be again ten or sixteen shillings. Those who have landed the corn in these two days immediately become rich, while those who could not do so become bankrupts ; a scandalous tissue of intrigue, &c. &c. The Scotch farmers, who are universally held to be superior in judgment to the English, loudly oppose the present arrangement, and so do many of the greatest land-owners. Thus the struggle did not finish with the nomination of the new ministry, and the majority of ninety-one does not exist in all cases. If it is taken for granted that Sir Robert Peel commands all those who are called Tories, what is done, or rather what is not done, is quite inconceivable. From this, it can only be understood that he does not command them. Mr. S., a leading man, said to me, yesterday, in an instructive conversation, “ Peel would very willingly do something ; but, because he cannot depend upon the whole of his party—because he

cannot unite them, he endeavours to gain time and let matters rest for the present." * * *

Brussels, 21st September.

Antwerp again struck me as a great city, or one destined to be great. The churches and squares are in a noble style, and almost every house has its own physiognomy; a perfect contrast to the similarity of style and form predominant in London. The tomb of Rubens at St. James's, Mount Calvary at St. Dominic's, the pulpit at St. Andrew's, were visited as usual. Whatever was most tasteless, was most loudly praised by the clerks and sextons, who spoke with enthusiasm of indifferent pictures and statues, and, above all, of the black and white altars, with pillars à la Bernini, the organs with unsuitable imitations of Greek and Roman style, clumsy frames, &c. I have all respect for Van Eyk's Adoration of the Lamb, and Rubens' Descent from the Cross: yet, in the cathedral and the tower, architecture takes the lead among the arts. In the Museum, I took much pleasure in the admirably preserved works of the ancient Flemish school, from Van Eyk to Mabuse; but for the new school of Rubens, though fully acknowledging his rich inventive genius, I have no sympathy. The very great number of Crosses, Crucifixions, Descents

from the Cross, &c. is particularly disagreeable ; and a figure of Christ, stretched out at full length, in the highest degree repulsive : yet a young artist was very devoutly copying it. The casts of ancient statues in plaster of Paris, in the same apartment, had a very peculiar effect. The lofty Minerva looked on with surprise ; the Medecean Venus was astonished that so many ugly people ventured to shew themselves ; and even Laocoön forgot his sufferings at beholding the caricatures of torture around him. The large figures carved in wood on the choirs and pulpits of the Antwerp churches are much nearer to ancient art, which never neglected beauty, than all those paintings ; and I participated in Goethe's dislike to many productions of this so-called Christian art. One might almost wish to repudiate notions, thoughts, principles, dogmatisms, in art. In the Museum, an honest German admired, above all things, a bust, on account of the immense curls of the wig. Is he further from real art than the young painter above spoken of ? There was a violent dispute at the table d'hôte between some French and half-Frenchmen. One in particular, with a loud voice and much self-satisfaction, proved that society needed, not persons, but principles ; that it was weakness and superstition to trust and to honour persons ; that if the Duke de Bordeaux broke his leg, it was of no more importance, than as if the

accident had happened to a country loon, and that it was senseless flattery to speak, or to think of it. After the man had talked for a long time in this style, it appeared that he worshipped Fetisches, which had not yet attained the rank of persons, and that this reformer of the world was a travelling wine cooper.

When pride shows itself in the English, it is always founded on their history, power, and nationality ; and with these trump cards they play off their own merit ; but the French act very differently : a great number of Frenchmen place themselves in the centre, and la France is treated almost as *hors d'œuvre*, or a small portion of what is French (the "opinions of a day of some journal) is tendered as the whole. By thus neglecting or rejecting so much, which was, however, French, they really speculate à *la baisse*, and lose instead of gaining.

We went by the railway to Brussels : it is much cheaper than in England, but less convenient ; for instance, the alighting and removing the luggage in the open air. In the evening I went to the theatre, and saw 'La Fille du Régiment,' an opera by Donizetti, which is another proof, among many, of the decline of music and of the theatre ; there was much irregularity, leaping, and screaming, without sense, understanding, and connection. After this, there

was a ballet: Flemish legs, a female dancer, on an average twenty-five to fifty pounds heavier than at Berlin.

On the 21st, we strolled about Brussels, saw the Boulevard, the Church of St. Gudule, the Palace of the Prince of Orange (which is destitute of pictures), and preparations of laths, glass, and oil for the Fête of the Revolution. The independence of Holland, as well as of the Dutch trade and colonies, is obtained, but the great French Cock has his mouth wide open to devour the young May- or September-bug. It is only by a sincere union with Germany, that Belgium can obtain a real life insurance. In the evening, I saw ‘*La Chaste Suzanne*,’ an opera, in four acts, music by Monpou. The short Jewish anecdote is spun out to an unconscionable length, bad, and tiresome in the highest degree. The loudest approbation was manifested when the old Jews bellowed fearfully, and the young David squeaked miserably. *Ecce signa every where.*

THE END.

